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SALLUST'S HISTORY

OF THE

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE,

AND

JUGURTHINE WAR;

WITH

ENGLISH NOTES:

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

BY

REV. PETER BULLIONS, D. D.,

LATE PROFESSOR OF LANGUAGES IN THE ALBANY ACADEMY; AUTHOR OF THE
SERIES OF GRAMMARS, GREEK, LATIN, AND ENGLISH, ON THE
SAME PLAN; CLASSICAL SERIES, ETC., ETC.

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PREFACE.

THE text of this edition of Sallust is that of C. G. Zumpt, Berlin, 1848, as given in "Chambers' Educational Course"—with this difference only, that the orthography in a few words of antiquated form has been changed in conformity with the usage of other Latin writers. The few forms of ancient orthography still remaining, differ so little from the ordinary forms, that no change has been thought necessary; and they serve in some degree to preserve that air of antiquity which the author aimed at in his writings.

Though many editions of Sallust have been published, the text can hardly be regarded even yet as fully settled. The number of manuscripts is great, and their discrepancies in many places considerable. Moreover, great liberties have been taken by some editors in making alterations, often on slight grounds, and sometimes on mere conjecture, rendering it difficult to know in some places what Sallust really did write. The latest critical editors of Sallust are Gerlach (Bassel, revised edition, 1832), and Kritz (Leipzig, 1828). Both these declare against the arbitrary proceedings of Corte, and yet they differ very often in their texts from each other. "Between these two," says Zumpt, "stands the edition of the learned J. C. Orelli (Zurich, 1840), whose text forms the basis of this [Zumpt's] edition. But besides abandoning his antiquated orthography, and restoring that which is adopted in most editions of the Latin Classics, we have felt obliged in many instances to give up Orelli's reading, and to follow the authority of the best manuscripts, especially the Codex Leidensis (marked L. in Havercamp's edition)." The licentiousness and crime that prevailed in Rome in the days of Catiline, and stained his character, were so gross, that the allusions to them in this history, though few, could not fail to be offensive—perhaps injurious—and for this reason are silently omitted.

Though in point of time, the Jugurthine war took place nearly 60 years before the conspiracy of Catiline, the history of the latter is here, as in most editions, placed first in order—not merely because it was

first written, but because it is more generally read than the former. Besides, in a course of classical reading, it should always be read before the Orations of Cicero against Catiline; and where only one of these histories is read, this one should be, and generally will be preferred.

Passages in the form of oblique narration (§ 141, R. vi. Expl.), as in Prof. Andrews' edition, are indicated by single quotation marks; direct quotations, by double quotation marks. The method of distinguishing adverbs, and the ablative singular of the first declension by accents, has not been used, as, at this stage of his studies, the student is supposed to have such a knowledge of syntax as to be able to make these distinctions for himself, without such artificial aid.

In preparing the notes and illustrations appended, the editor has availed himself of all the assistance furnished by the various editions in use in this country, and of some foreign editions also, especially that of Zumpt above referred to; and, as this author is usually read in an early stage of the Academical course, greater fulness in the notes has been deemed proper. Care has been taken, however, not to supersede diligence and effort on the part of the learner, but to encourage both, by giving the assistance necessary to render the study of this author interesting and profitable, and to relieve the teacher, in some degree, by supplying just such information as the intelligent student would likely seek to obtain from him. The translations given are, in general, sufficiently literal to indicate the construction; sometimes a strictly literal translation is annexed. The references to the Editor's Latin Grammar, for the explanation of peculiar or more difficult constructions and forms of speech, are numerous. They have the usual section mark (§) prefixed, and will be easily understood. References from one part of the book to another for explanation, are common, and made by indicating the chapter in Roman numerals, and if to a note, by annexing in figures the number of the note, to the number of the chapter; thus, Chap. I., 2 (p. 141), is a reference to note 2, under Chap. I., found p. 139.

Fronting the title-page is a map of Numidia, from the Edinburgh edition, which will be useful to point out the localities mentioned in the Jugurthine war. No pains or expense has been spared to render the work accurate and attractive; and the style in which it is produced by the printer and publishers, will compare favorably with that of any similar publications of the present day.

APRIL, 21, 1852.

INTRODUCTION.*

SALLUST has generally been considered as the first among the Romans who merited the title of historian. This celebrated writer was born at Amiternum, in the territory of the Sabines (to the northwest of Rome), B. C. 86. He was educated at Rome, and in his early youth appears to have been desirous to devote himself to literary pursuits. But it was not easy for one residing in the capital to escape the contagious desire of military or political distinction. At the age of twenty-seven, he obtained the situation of Quæstor, which entitled him to a seat in the senate; and about six years afterwards he was elected tribune of the people. While in this office, he attached himself to Cæsar, whose fortunes he continued to follow; and in particular, bore a share in the expedition to Africa, where the scattered remains of Pompey's party had united. That region being finally subdued, Sallust was left by Cæsar as Prætor of Numidia. He remained only a year in his government, but, during that period, he enriched himself by despoiling the province. On his return to Rome, he was accused by the Numidians whom he plundered, but escaped with impunity by means of the protection of Cæsar, and was quietly permitted to betake himself to a luxurious retirement with his ill-gotten wealth. He chose for his favorite retreat a villa at Tibur, which had belonged to Cæsar; and he also built a magnificent palace in the suburbs of Rome, surrounded by delightful pleasure grounds, which were afterwards well known and celebrated as the gardens of Sallust. In this retirement,

* This introductory sketch of the life and writings of Sallust, is taken chiefly from Dunlop's History of Roman Literature. Vol. II., pp. 81-94.

Sallust passed the close of his life, dividing his time between literary avocations and the society of his friends, among whom he numbered Lucullus, Messala, and Cornelius Nepos. He died at the age of fifty-one, 35 years B. C.

Of the character of Sallust, very different opinions have been formed, and the sources of information on the subject, which can now be reached, are not the most reliable. That he was a man of loose morals, is evident; and also that he rapaciously plundered his province, like other Roman governors of the day. But, considering who were his friends, and the studies he pursued, it seems highly improbable that he indulged in that excessive libertinism which has been attributed to him, on the erroneous supposition that he was the Sallust mentioned by Horace, in the first book of his Satires.

The works of Sallust which have come down to us entire, are the History of the Conspiracy of Catiline, and the History of the Jugurthine War. Besides these, he was the author of a Civil and Military History of the Republic, in five books, embracing a period of thirteen years, from the resignation of the Dictatorship by Sulla, till the promulgation of the Manilian law, by which Pompey was invested with authority equal to that which Sulla had relinquished. It is much to be regretted that of this work—probably designed to connect the termination of the Jugurthine war with the breaking out of the Conspiracy of Catiline—only fragments now remain.

The first work of Sallust was the History of the Conspiracy of Catiline, which broke out B. C. 62. At that time Sallust had attained the age of twenty-two, and was an eye-witness of the whole proceeding. He had therefore sufficient opportunity of ascertaining and recording, with accuracy and truth, the origin, progress, and termination, of the Conspiracy. The facts detailed in the Orations of Cicero, though differing in some minute particulars, coincide in every thing of importance, and highly contribute to illustrate and verify the work of the historian. But still, living, as he did, in the midst of these scenes of political strife, it could hardly be expected that he should not feel perhaps too much interested in the fortunes of individuals and parties to fulfil the duties of an impartial writer; and that this was so, to some extent, the feeble and apparently reluctant commendation which he bestows on Cicero, then, as well as now, acknowledged to be the principal actor in detecting and frustrating the Conspiracy, is abundant evidence. Although not an eye-witness to the war with Jugurtha, which took place nearly fifty years before the Conspiracy of Catiline,

yet his situation as Prætor of Numidia, which had been the scene of this war, afforded him an opportunity of collecting materials, and procuring information, while his distance in point of time from the men and parties of that period, was favorable for obtaining just and comprehensive views of the exciting events of the war, and for embodying them in a faithful and impartial narrative.

Sallust, like some other historians of antiquity, evidently regarded an elegant style as one of the chief merits of an historical work. His own style, on which he took so much pains, was carefully formed on that of Thucydides, whose manner of writing was in a great measure original, and, till the time of Sallust, peculiar to himself. The Roman has wonderfully succeeded in imitating the vigor and conciseness of the Greek historian, and infusing into his composition something of that dignity and austerity which distinguishes the works of his great model. This imitation, however, consists more in the rapid and compressed manner in which his narrative is conducted, than in the structure of his sentences—in brevity of idea, rather than of language. For while Thucydides frequently employs long and involved periods, Sallust is abrupt and sententious, and is generally considered as having carried this sort of brevity to excess. The use of copulatives, for the purpose of uniting clauses or sentences, is in a great measure rejected; antiquated forms of expression, and words considered nearly obsolete, are sometimes employed, so that on the whole there is too much appearance of study, and the want of that ease and natural gracefulness so pleasing in the productions of some other writers.

In the delineation of character, Sallust particularly excels. Some of the characters drawn by him have been regarded in all ages as master-pieces of their kind. The portraits of Catiline, Jugurtha, and Marius, convey to us vivid ideas of their minds and persons, and prepare us to anticipate, in some degree, how each will act in the situation in which he is placed. In Catiline, we behold a man of a bold, profligate, untamable spirit; of infinite resources, unwearied application, and prevailing address. We see, as it were, before us the deadly paleness of his countenance, his ghastly eye, his unequal, troubled step, and the distraction of his whole appearance, strongly indicating the reckless horror of a guilty conscience. The introductory sketch of the genius and manners of Jugurtha, is no less able and spirited than that of Catiline. We behold him serving under Scipio, at Numantia, as brave, accomplished, and enterprising; but imbued with an ambition which, being under no control of principle, hurried him into its worst

excesses, and rendered him ultimately perfidious and cruel. The most singular part of his character was, the mixture of boldness and irresolution which it combined; but the lesson we receive from it, lies in the miseries of that suspicion and remorse which he had created in his own mind by his atrocities, and which rendered him as wretched on the throne, or at the head of his army, as in the dungeon where he terminated his unhappy life. The portraits of the other principal characters who figured in the Jugurthine war, are all well brought out. That of Marius in particular is happily touched. The parallel drawn between Cato and Cæsar is one of the most celebrated passages in the history of the Conspiracy.

The subjects chosen by Sallust form two of the most important and prominent topics in the history of Rome. The periods, indeed, which he describes, were painful, but they were interesting. Full of conspiracies, usurpations, and civil wars, they chiefly exhibit the mutual rage and iniquity of embittered factions, furious struggles between the patricians and plebeians, open corruption in the senate, venality in the courts of justice, and rapine in the provinces. This state of things, so forcibly painted by Sallust, produced the Conspiracy, and even, in some degree, formed the character of Catiline. But it was the oppressive debts of individuals, the temper of Sulla's soldiers, and the absence of Pompey with his army, which gave a possibility, and even a prospect of success to a plot which affected the vital existence of the commonwealth, and which, although arrested in its commencement, was one of those violent shocks which hasten the fall of a state. The history of the Jugurthine war exhibits a more extensive field of action, and a greater theatre of war, though the war itself was not so important or menacing to the vital interests and immediate safety of Rome. No prince, except Mithridates, gave so much employment to the Roman arms. In the course of no war—not even the second Carthaginian—were the people more desponding, and in none were they more elated with success. As a piece of composition this narrative deserves to rank very high. Nothing can be more interesting than the account of the vicissitudes of this contest. The talents, the endless resources, the total want of principle, the sufferings of conscience—all found combined in the character and condition of Jugurtha—stand forth in vivid and picturesque colors, and convey a moral lesson not easily to be effaced.

BELLUM CATILINARIUM.

C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

BELLUM

CATILINARIUM.



I. ¹ OMNES homines, qui sese student præstare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transcant, veluti pecora, quæ natura prona atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est: ² animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur: alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. ³ Quo mihi rectius videtur ingenii quam virium opibus gloriam quærere, et, quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formæ gloria ⁴ fluxa atque fragilis est; virtus clara æternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortales certamen fuit, vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet; nam et prius quam incipias, ⁵ consulto, et ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam ¹ in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit) diversi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exerce-

bant: etiamtum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua cuique satis placebant. ²Postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Græcia Lacedæmonii et Athenienses cœpere urbes atque nationes subigere, libidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putare; tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est in bello plurimum ingenium posse. ³Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita uti in bello valeret, æquabilius atque constantius sese res humanæ haberent; ⁴neque aliud alio ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret. Nam imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et æquitate libido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium semper ⁵ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur. ⁶Quæ homines arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam, ⁷sicuti peregrinantes, transiere; quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æstimo, quoniam de utraque siletur. ⁸Verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui, aliquo negotio intentus, præclari facinoris aut artis bonæ famam quærit. Sed in magna copia ⁹rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est ¹bene facere rei publicæ; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est; vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet; et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac ²mihi quidem, tametsi laudquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum, quod facta dictis sunt exæquanda; dehinc, ³quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malevolentia et invidia dicta putant; ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bono-

rum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit; ⁴ supra ea, veluti ficta pro falsis ducit.

Sed ego adolescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, ⁵ studio ad rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa adversa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigeabant. Quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur, ⁶ insolens malarum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur; ⁷ ac me, quum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido, eadem, qua ceteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et ¹ mihi reliquam ætatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium conterere; neque vero agrum colendo aut venando, ² servilibus officiis, intentum ætatem agere; ³ sed a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quæque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere; eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus rei publicæ animus liber erat. Igitur ⁴ de Catilinæ conjuratione, quam verissime potero, paucis absolvam. Nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existimo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De ⁵ ejus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quam initium narrandi faciam.

V. ¹ Lucius Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna ² vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus ³ patiens inediæ, vigiliæ, alboris, supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolos, varius, ⁴ ejus rei libet simulator ac dissimulator, alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. ⁵ Vastus animus immoderata. incredi-

bilis, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc ^o post dominationem Lucii Sullæ libido maxima invaserat rei publicæ capiundæ; neque id quibus modis assequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque ⁷ in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum; quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores, ⁸ quos pessima ac diversa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. ⁹ Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra repetere, ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiaeque, quomodo rem publicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint, ut paulatim immutata, ex pulcherrima pessima ac flagitiosissima facta sit, disserere.

VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego ¹ accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui, Aenea duce, profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur; cumque his ² Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. ³ Ili postquam in una mœnia convenere, dispari genere, dissimili lingua, alius alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est, quam facile coaluerint. Sed postquam ⁴ res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est. Igitur reges populique finitimi bello ⁵ tentare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri metu perculsi a periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviam ire, libertatem, patriam, parentesque armis tegere. Post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia ⁶ portabant; magisque dandis quam accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant. ⁷ Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regum habebant: delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia validum erat, rei publicæ con-

sultabant. Hi vel ætate vel curæ similitudine Patres appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio ^a conservandæ libertatis atque augendæ rei publicæ fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque convertit, immutato more, annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecere. Eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam inolescere animum humanum.

VII. ¹ Sed ea tempestate cœpere se quisque magis extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni quam ² mali suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, ³ adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriæ incesserat. Jam primum ⁴ juvenus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discibat; magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quam in seortis atque conviviis, libidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed ⁵ gloriæ maximum certamen inter ipsos erat: sic se quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, properabat; eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant; laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant; gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maximas hostium copias populus Romanus parva manu ⁶ fuderit, quas urbes natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego æstimo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenere ibi ² scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Athe-

niensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui³ ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum ea verbis potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Romano nunquam¹ ea copia fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque maxime negotiosus erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat;⁶ optimus quisque⁶ facere quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari, quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

IX. ¹Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur: concordia maxima, minima avaritia erat; jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. ²Jurgia, discordias, simultates cum hostibus exercebant; cives cum civibus de virtute certabant: ³in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amieis fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat, æquitate⁴ seque remque publicam curabant. ⁵Quarum rerum ego maxima documenta hæc habeo, quod in bello sæpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius, revocati, prælio excesserant, ⁶quam qui signa relinquere, aut, pulsī, loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod ⁷beneficiis (magis) quam metu imperium agitabant, et, accepta injuria, ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

X. Sed ubi labore atque justitia res publica crevit, ¹reges magni bello domiti, nationes feræ et populi ingentes vi subacti, ²Carthago, æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiiit, cuncta maria terræque patebant, sævire fortuna ac miscere omnia cœpit. ³Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, his otium, divitiæ, optandæ aliis, oneri miseriæque fuere. Igitur primo pecuniæ, deinde imperii cupido crevit: ⁴ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque artes bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri sub-

egit; ^o aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex comodo aestimare, magisque vultum quam ingenium bonum habere. Hæc primo paulatim ^o crescere, interdum vindicari: post, ubi contagio, quasi pestilentia, invasit, civitas immutata; imperium ex justissimo atque optimo crudele intolerandumque factum.

XI. Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, ¹ quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium ² bonus et ignavus æque sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonæ artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ ³ stadium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea, quasi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat; semper infinita, insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, ⁴ armis recepta re publica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, ⁵ rapere omnes, trahere; domum alius, alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, fœda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla ⁶ exercitum, quem in Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat: loca amœna, voluptaria, facile in otio feroces militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum ⁷ insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata mirari, ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, ⁸ nihil reliqui victis fecere. ⁹ Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant; ne illi, corruptis moribus, victoriæ temperarent.

XII. Postquam d'vitiae ¹ honori esse cœpere, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci

cœpit. Igitur ²ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere: ³rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; ⁴pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua. nihil pensi neque moderati habere. ⁵Operæ pretium est, quum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exædificatas, visere templa deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verum ⁶illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant; neque vietis quidquam præter injuriæ licentiam eripiebant. At hi contra ignavissimi homines, ⁷per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere, quæ fortissimi viri victores reliquerant; proinde quasi injuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ, nisi his, qui videre, nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus ¹subversos montes, maria constructa esse? ²Quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiæ; quippe, quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido ganeæ ³ceterique cultus non minor incesserat; vescendi causa terra marique omnia ⁴exquirere; dormire prius quam somni cupido esset; non famem aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem ubi ⁵familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant. Animus imbutus malis artibus ⁶hand facile libidinibus carebat: eo profusius omnibus modis quæstui atque sumptui deditus erat.

XIV. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, ¹omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus, adulter, bona patria laceraverat, quique ²alienum æs grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; præterea omnes undique parricidæ, sacrilegi, ³convieti judiciis, aut pro factis judicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua perjurio

aut sanguine civili alebat; postremo omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat; hi Catilinæ proximi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris facile ⁴par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates appetebat; eorum animi molles et ætate fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam uti ejusque studium ⁵ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere, aliis canes atque equos merari; postremo neque sumptui neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. Seio fuisse nonnullos, qui ita existimarent, juventutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.

XV. Jam primum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, ¹cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ, alia hujuscemodi contra jus fasque. Postremo ²captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, ejus præter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta ætate, pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuam domum seclæstis nuptiis fecisse. ³Quæ quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dis hominibusque ⁴infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos exsanguis, fædi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus ⁵incessus; prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ¹ut supra diximus, illexerat multis modis, mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; ²fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere, post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat. Si causa peccandi in præsens ³minus suppetebat, nihilo minus insontes sicuti sontes

circumvenire, jugulare; scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat.

His amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod ⁴res alienum per omnes terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites; largius suo usi, rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant, opprimendae rei publicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus; Cn. Pompeius ⁵in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes; senatus nihil sane intentus; tutae tranquillaeque res omnes; sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

XVII. Igitur, circiter ¹Kalendas Junias, L. Cæsare et C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos appellare; hortari alios, alios tentare; opes suas, imparatam rem publicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt quae voluit, in unum omnes convocat. quibus maxima ²necessitudo et plurimum audaciae inerat. Eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Casius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullae, Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: ad hoc multi ex ³coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant praeterea complures paulo occultius consilii hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut aliqua necessitudo. Ceterum ⁴juventus pleraque. sed maxime nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat. Quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. ⁵Fuere item ea tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra

illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si conjuratio valnisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. Sed ¹ antea item conjuravere pauci contra rem publicam, in quibus Catilina fuit: ² de qua, quam verissime potero, dicam. L. Tullo et M. Lepido consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla. ³ designati consules, legibus ambitus interrogati pœnas dederant. Post paulo Catilina, ⁴ pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverat. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. ⁵ Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter nonas Decembres, consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere; ipsi, fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. ⁶ Ea re cognita, rursus in nonas Februarias consilium cædis transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. ⁷ Quodni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romam pessimum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res ⁸ consilium diremit.

XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quæstor ¹ pro prætore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod cum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat; quippe fœdum hominem a re publica procul esse volebat; simul quia boni complures ² præsidium in eo putabant, et jam tum potentia Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso ³ in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens occisus est. ⁴ Sunt qui ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati; alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes, volun-

tate ejus Pisonem aggressos; nunquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia sæva multa ante perpessos. Nos eam rem ⁵ in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina, ubi eos, quos ¹ paulo ante memoravi, convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa sæpe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos appellare et cohortari, in abditam partem ædium secedit; atque ibi omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit.

“Ni virtus fidesque vestra ² spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent: neque ego, per ignaviam aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis ³ tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere; simul quia vobis eadem, quæ mihi, bona malaque esse intellexi: nam ⁴ idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed, ego quæ mente agitavi, omnes jam antea diversi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, quum considero, quæ conditio vitæ futura sit, ⁵ nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam res publica ⁶ in paucorum potentium jus atque ditionem concessit, semper illis reges, tetrarchæ vectigales esse; populi, nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, iis obnoxii, quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere, pericula, repulsas, judicia, egestatem. ⁷ Quæ quousque tandem patiemini, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem præstat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ superbiam ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enim vero, ⁸ pro deum atque hominum fidem! victoria in manu nobis est; viget ætas, animus

valet: contra illis annis atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. Tantummodo incepto opus est, ⁹cetera res expediet. Et enim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus coæquandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Quum tabulas, signa, ¹⁰toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia ædificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen summa libidine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris æs alienum; ¹¹mala res, spes multo asperior. Denique quid reliqui habemus præter miseram animam? ¹²Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa, quam sæpe optastis, libertas, præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt. Fortuna ¹³omnia ea victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis quam oratio mea, vos ¹⁴hortentur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utimini: neque animus neque corpus a vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam; nisi forte me animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis."

XXI. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis ¹quieta movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique, uti proponeret, quæ conditio belli foret, quæ præmia armis peterent, ²quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri ³tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum atque libido victorum fert. Præterea 'esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes: ⁴petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum: cum eo se consulem ini

tium agendi facturum.' Ad hoc maledictis increpat omnes bonos, suorum unumquemque nominans laudare; admonebat ⁵ alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis sure, complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanæ, quibus ea praeda fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alaeres videt, cohortatus ut ⁶ petitionem suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. ¹ Fuere, ea tempestate, qui dicerent 'Catilinam, oratione habita, quum ad iusjurandum populares secleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse; inde, quum ² post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum; atque eo, dictitare, fecisse, quo inter se magis fidi forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii.' Nonnulli ficta et hæc et multa præterea existimabant ab iis, qui ³ Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate secleris eorum, qui pœnas dederant. Nobis ea res ⁴ pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

XXIII. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coöpertus; ¹ quem censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia: neque reticere, quæ audierat, neque ² suamet ipse seclera occultare; prorsus neque dicere neque facere quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo: ³ cui quum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montesque polliceri cœpit: et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret; postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, ⁴ insolentiae Curii causa cognita, tale periculum rei publicæ haud occultum habuit; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione, quæ quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit

ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. ^o Namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia ^o post fuere.

XXIV. Igitur, comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius; ¹ quod factum primo populares conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur, sed in dies ² plura agitare, arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam Fæsulas ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos ejusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ, ³ ubi ætas tantummodo quæstui neque luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse ⁴ servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere.

XXV. Sed in his erat ¹ Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro, liberis satis fortunata fuit: litteris Græcis et Latinis docta, psallere, saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probæ, ² multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit: ³ pecuniæ an famæ minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; libidine sic accensa, ut sæpius peteret viros, quam peteretur. Sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, ⁴ creditum abjuraverat, cædis conscia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia præceps abierat. Verum ⁵ ingenium ejus haud absurdum; posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multæ facetiæ multusque lepos inerat.

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus ¹ in proximum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si de-

signatus foret. facile se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni, Neque ² illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiæ deerant. Namque a principio consulatus sui, multa pollicendo per Fulviam, ³ effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet. ⁴ Ad hoc collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciæ perpulerat, ne contra rem publicam sentiret: circum se præsidia amicorum atque ⁵ clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinæ neque ⁶ petitio neque insidiæ, quas consuli in campo fecerat, prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quæ occulte tentaverat, aspera fœdaque evenerant.

XXVII. Igitur C. Manlium Fæsulas atque in eam partem Etruriæ, ¹ Septimium quemdam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; præterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri; consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere, ² ipse eum telo esse, item alios jubere, hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent, dies noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo ubi multa agitant ³ nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat ⁴ per M. Porcium Læcam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet ⁵ se Manlium præmisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item ⁶ alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum officere.

XXVIII. Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator, constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus, ¹ sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improvviso domi suæ imparatum confodere

Curius ubi ² intellegit, quantum periculi consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum, qui parabatur, enuntiat. Ita ³ illi, janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriæ 'novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullæ dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat; præterea latrones ejusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus libido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. Ea quum Ciceroni nuntiarentur, ¹ ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea vulgi rumoribus exagitata. Itaque, ² quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, 'darent operam consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet.' ³ Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxima permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque cives, domi militiaeque 'imperium atque judicium summum habere; aliter sine populi jussu nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

XXX. Post paucos dies L. Sænius senator in senatu litteras ¹ recitavit, quas Fæsulis allatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat 'C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudine, ante diem sextum Kalendas Novembres.' Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii 'conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuæ atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri.' Igitur ² senati decreto Q. Marcus Rex Fæsulæ, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi: hi utrique ³ ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti, ne triumpharent, calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed 'præterea Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer

in agrum Picenum; hisque permissum, 'uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent.' Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quæ contra rem publicam facta erat, ⁶præmium servo libertatem et sestertia centum, libero impunitatem ejus rei et sestertia ducenta; itemque decrevere, 'uti gladiatoriae familiæ Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur, ⁶pro cujusque opibus; Romæ per totam urbem vigiliæ haberentur, iisque minores magistratus præessent.'

XXXI. ¹Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies erat; ex summa lætitia atque lascivia, quæ diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnes tristitia invasit; festinare, trepidare; neque loco nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere; suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, ²quibus rei publicæ magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, afflictare sese, manus supplices ad cælum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, rogitare, omnia pavere, superbia atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus ³eadem illa movebat, tametsi præsidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo ⁴dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens, sive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicæ, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed, ubi ille assedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplicii postulare, ⁵'patres conscripti ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne existimarent, sibi, patrio homini, cujus ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita re publica opus esse, quum eam servaret M. Tullius, ⁶'inquilinus civis urbis Romæ.' Ad hæc maledicta alia ⁷quum adderet, obstrepere omnes,

hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis
^apræceps agor. incendium meum ruina restinguam."

XXXII. Dein se ex curia domum proripuit. Ibi multa secum ipse volvens, quod neque ¹insidiæ consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellgebat urbem vigiliis munitam, ²optimum factu credens exercitum augere, ac, prius quam legiones scriberentur, antecapere quæ bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. * Sed ³Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque, quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, 'quibus rebus possent opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent. cædem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent: sese præpediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum.' Dum hæc Romæ gerantur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit, ⁴cum mandatis hujuscemodi:

XXXIII. "Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent, ¹qui miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate feneratorum plerique patriæ, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more majorum ²lege uti, neque. amisso patrimonio, liberum corpus habere: tanta sævitia feneratorum atque prætoris fuit. Sæpe majores ³vestrum miseriti plebis Romanæ, decretis suis inopiæ ejus opitulati sunt: ac novissime memoria nostra, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, ⁴argentum ære solutum est. ⁵Sæpe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbia magistratunum, armata a patribus secessit. At nōs non imperium neque divitias petimus, ⁶quarum rerum causa bella atque certamina omnia intèr mortales sunt, sed libertatem. quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, ⁷consulatis miseris civibus; legis

præsidium, quod iniquitas prætoris eripuit, restituatis; neve nobis eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quæramus, quonam modo, maxime ulti sanguinem nostrum, pereamus."

XXXIV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius respondit: "Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur: ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo unquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.' At Catilina ² ex itinere plerisque consularibus, præterea optimo cuique, litteras mittit: 'Se ³ falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exsilium proficisci: non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur.' ⁴ Ab his longe diversas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat: earum exemplum infra scriptum est.

XXXV. "L. Catilina Q. Catulo, S. Egregia tua fides, re cognita, gratam in magnis meis periculis fiduciam commendationi meæ tribuit. Quamobrem ² defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare: satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi: ³ quam mediusfidius veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod, fructu laboris industriæque meæ privatus, ⁴ statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi: non quin æs alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere possem, quum et alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillæ suis filiaque copiis persolveret; sed quod ⁵ non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsa suspicione alienatum esse sentiebam. ⁶ Hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquæ dignitatis conservandæ sum secutus. Plura quum scribere vellem, nuntiatum est ⁷ vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuæque fidei trado: ⁸ eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto."

XXXVI. Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium ¹in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem, antea sollicitatam, armis exornat; cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam et Manlium ²hostes judicat; ceteræ multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere. præter rerum capitalium condemnatis. Præterea decernit, 'uti consules delectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi præsidio sit.' Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani ³multo maxime miserabile visum est; cui quum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiæ, quæ prima mortales putant, affluerent, fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque duobus ⁴senati decretis, ex tanta multitudine, neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. Neque solum illis ¹aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinæ incepta probabat. ²Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, ³bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ⁴ea vero præceps ierat multis de causis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime ⁵præstabant, item alii, per dedecora patrimoniis anissis, postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ii Romam. sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant. ⁶Deinde multi memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, uti regio victu atque

cultu ætatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria talia sperabat. Præterea juvenus, quæ in agris⁷ manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus execta, urbanum otium ingrato labori prætulera: eos atque alios omnes malum publicum alebat. Quo minus mirandum est homines egentes, malis moribus, maxima spe. ⁸ rei publicæ juxta ac sibi consuluisset. Præterea ⁹ quorum victoria Sullæ parentes proscripti, bona crepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum exspectabant. Ad hoc quicumque ¹⁰ aliarum atque senatus partium erant, conturbari rem publicam, quam minus valere ipsi malebant. ¹¹ Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

XXXVIII. Nam postquam, ¹ Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus, tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adolescentes, ² summam potestatem nacti, quibus ætas animusque ferox erat, cœpere senatum criminando plebem exagitare; dein largiendo atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas. ³ senatus specie, pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti ⁴ paucis verum absolvam, post illa tempora quicumque rem publicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent. pars, quo senatus auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulant. pro sua quisque potentia certabant: neque illis modestia. neque modus contentionis erat; utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum ¹ maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes imminutæ, paucorum potentia erevit. ² Hi magistratus, provincias aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu ætatem agere, ceteros judiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent. Sed ubi primum ³ dubiis rebus novandi spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos

eorum arrexit. ⁴ Quod si primo prælio Catilina superior aut æqua manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen ⁵ extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt: in his erat A. Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere ⁶ parens necari jussit. Iisdem temporibus Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, ⁷ quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebatur, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum cives, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.

XL. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, ¹ uti legatos Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli; existimans publice privatimque ære alieno oppressos. præterea, quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia ² negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, ³ percontatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere cœpit, 'quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?' Postquam ⁴ illos videt queri de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem exspectare: "At ego," inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem, ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiat." Hæc ubi dixit, Allobroges in maximam spem adlucti Umbrenum orare, ut sui misereretur: 'nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret.' Ille eos in domum ⁵ D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consilii, propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Præterea ⁶ Gabinium arcessit,

quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset. Eo præsente, conjurationem aperit; nominat socios, præterea multos ejusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset: deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit.

XLI. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. ¹ In altera parte erat æs alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ; at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa præmia. Hæc illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna rei publicæ. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangæ, ² ejus patrocínio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcepit, ³ ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam, uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant.

XLII. Iisdem fere temporibus in ¹ Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat. Namque illi, ² quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementia cuncta simul agebant: nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer prætor ex senati consulto, ³ causa cognita, in vincula conjecerat; item in ulteriore Gallia C. Murena, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

XLIII. At Romæ ¹ Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut videbatur, magnis copiis, constituerant, uti, quum Catilina in agrum Fæsulânũ cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis, concione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissimi invidiam optimo consuli imponeret; ² eo signo, proxima nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. ³ Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur, Statilius et Gabinus uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior adi-

ius ad consulem ceterosque, quibus insidiæ parabantur, fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eumque vi aggrederetur, alius autem alium; ⁴sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxima pars erat, parentes interficerent; simul, cæde et incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. ⁵Inter hæc parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: 'illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto in tali periculo opus esse; seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum.'
⁶Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat; maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. Sed Allobroges ex præcepto Ciceronis ¹per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad cives perferant: 'aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse.' Ceteri nihil suspicantes ²dant; Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quendam ³Crotoniensem mittit, uti Allobroges, prius quam domum pergerent, cum Catilina, data et accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio ⁴litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est.

"⁵ Qui sim, ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. ⁶Fac cogites, in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse; consideres, quid tuæ rationes postulent: auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis."

Ad hoc ⁷mandata verbis dat: 'quum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse, quæ jusserit; ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.'

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte, qua proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos ¹cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino prætoribus imperat, uti in ponte

Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. ² Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu præsidiis collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. Postquam ³ ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venerunt, et simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli, cito cognito consilio, sine mora prætoribus se tradunt. Voltureius primo, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; deinde, ubi a legatis desertus est, ⁴ multa prius de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo timidus ac vitæ diffidens, velut hostibus sese prætoribus dedit.

XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuntios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere: nam lætabatur, ¹ intellegens, conjuratione patefacta, civitatem periculis ereptam esse; porro autem anxius erat, dubitans, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset; pœnam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem ² perdundæ rei publicæ fore credebat. Igitur, ³ confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, itemque quemdam Cœparium Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine mora veniunt: Cœparius, paulo ante domo egressus, ⁴ cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quod prætor erat, ipse manu tenens in senatum perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire jubet. ⁵ Eo senatum advocat, magnæque frequentia ejus ordinis, Voltureium cum legatis introducit; Flaccum prætorem ⁶ scrinium cum litteris, quas a legatis acceperat, eodem afferre jubet.

XLVII. Voltureius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo ¹ quid, aut qua de causa, consilii habuisset, primo fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; post, ubi ² fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, ape-

rit; docetque 'se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Cœpario socium adscitum nihil amplius scire quam legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos præterea in ea conjuratione esse.' Eadem Galli fatentur, ac Lentulum dissimulantem ³coarguunt præter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat: 'ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romæ tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; præterea ⁴ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore.' Igitur perlectis litteris, quum prius omnes ⁵signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, 'uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus, itemque ceteri ⁶in liberis custodiis habeantur.' Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Cæsari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Cœparius (nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

XLVIII. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quæ primo cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente, Catilinæ consilia ¹exsecrari, Ciceronem ad cælum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque lætitiā agitabat. Namque ²alia belli facinora prædæ magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat; quippe cui omnes copiæ in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, ³quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is quum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset, jussus a consule, quæ sciret edicere, eadem fere quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium senatum docet: præterea 'se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinæ nuntiaret, ⁴ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex conjuratione deprehensi terrerent;

eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret, et illi facilius e periculo eriperentur.' Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maximis divitiis, summa potentia. alii rem incredibilem rati, pars, tametsi verum existimabant, tamen quia in tali tempore ⁶ tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii conclamant 'indicem falsum esse,' ⁶ deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque, ⁷ consulente Cicerone, frequens senatus decernit, 'Tarquinii indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem esset mentitus.' Erant eo tempore, qui aestimarent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius, appellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone ⁸ immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo suscepto malorum patrocinio, rem publicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audiavi, 'tantam illam contumeliam sibi a Cicerone impositam.'

XLIX. Sed iisdem temporibus ¹ Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque precibus, neque gratia, neque pretio Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Cæsar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo graves inimicitias exercebat; Piso ² oppugnatus in iudicio pecuniarum repetundarum, propter cujusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema ætate, maximis honoribus usus, ³ ab adolescentulo Cæsare victus discesserat. 'Res autem opportuna videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, 'publice maximis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ⁶ ipsi singulatim circumeundo, atque ementiundo, quæ se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam

illi invidiam conflaverant; usque adeo, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui præsidiî causa cum telis erant circum ædem Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi nobilitate impulsî, quo studium suum in rem publicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur.

L. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur; ¹liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli diversis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiundum sollicitabant; partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem per nuntios ²familiam atque liberos suos, lectos et exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, ut, grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præsidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, ³refert, 'quid de his fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant.' Sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus ⁴judicaverat 'contra rem publicam fecisse.' Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus ⁵sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de his, qui in custodiis tenebantur, præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat: isque postea, permotus oratione C. Cæsaris, ⁶pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quod de ea re, præsidiis additis, referendum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule, ⁷hujusmodi verba locutus est.

LI. " Omnes homines, ¹patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt, ²neque quisquam omnium libidini simul et usui paruit. ³Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si libido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, patres conscripti, qui reges atque

populi, ira aut misericordia impulsus, ⁴ male consuluerint; sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores nostri contra libidinem animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quæ populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque adversa nobis fuit: sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ⁵ ne quis divitiarum magis, quam injuriæ causa bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, quum sæpe Carthaginienses et in pace et ⁶ per inducias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, nunquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere: magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos jure fieri posset, quærebant. Hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus, quam vestra dignitas; ⁷ neu magis iræ vestræ quam famæ consulatis. Nam si ⁸ digna pœna pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium approbo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, his utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententiam dixerunt, composite atque magnifice casum rei publicæ miserati sunt: quæ belli sævitia esset, quæ victis acciderent, enumeravere: divelli liberos a parentum complexu; matres familiarum ⁹ pati, quæ victoribus collibuissent; fana atque domos spoliari; cædem, incendia fieri; postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortales! quo illa oratio pertinuit? ¹⁰ an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? Scilicet, quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet! Non ita est; neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur: multi eas gravius æquo habuere. Sed ¹¹ alia aliis licentia est, patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt: qui magno imperio præditi in excelso ætatem agunt, eorum

facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxima fortuna minima licentia est: neque studere, neque odisse. sed minime irasci decet: quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego sic existimo, patres conscripti, omnes cruciatus minores, quam facinora illorum esse; sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis sceleris eorum obliti de pœna disserunt, si ea paulo severior fuit. D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio, quæ dixerit, ¹² studio rei publicæ dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere: eos mores, eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententiæ ejus mihi non crudelis, (quid enim in tales homines crudele fieri potest?) sed ¹³ aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus pœnæ novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, quum præsertim diligentia clarissimi viri, consulis, tanta præsidia sint in armis. De pœna possumus equidem dicere ¹⁴ id quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortales! quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur? ¹⁵ An quia lex Porcia vetat? At aliæ leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exsilium permitti jubent. An quia gravius est verberari quam necari? Quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin, quia levius est; ¹⁶ qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, quum eam in majore neglexeris? ¹⁷ At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas rei publicæ decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus libido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidet, quidquid evenerit; ceterum vos, patres conscripti, ¹⁸ quid in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex

bonis orta sunt; sed ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedæmonii devictis Atheniensibus ¹⁹ triginta viros imposuere, qui rem publicam eorum tractarent. Hi primo cœpere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare: ea populus lætari et merito dicere fieri. Post, ubi paulatim licentiâ crevit, juxta bonos et malos libidine interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas servitute oppressa stultæ lætitiæ graves pœnas dedit. Nostra memoria, victor Sulla quum ²⁰ Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo rei publicæ creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? ‘Homines scelestos et factiosos, qui seditionibus rem publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos’ aiebant. Sed ea res magnæ initium eladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti is in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi mors lætitiæ fuerat, paulo post ipsi ²¹ trahebantur; neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quam Sulla omnes suos divitiis explevit. ²² Atque ego hæc non in M. Tullio neque his temporibus vereor; sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. ²³ Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi. Ubi hoc exemplo per senati decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur? Majores nostri, patres conscripti, neque consilii neque audaciæ unquam eguere; neque illis superbia obstabat, ²⁴ quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque ²⁵ sumpserunt: postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostes idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur; imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore, Græciæ morem ²⁶ imitati, verberibus animadvertabant in

cives, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam res publica adolevit, et multitudo civium factiones valere, circumveniri innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri cœpere, tum lex Porcia aliæque leges paratæ sunt, ²⁷ quibus legibus exsilium damnatis permissum est. ²⁸ Hanc ego causam, patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur eos dimitti et augere exercitum Catilinæ? Minime; ²⁹ sed ita censeo: 'publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxime opibus valent; neu quis de his postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat: qui aliter fecerit, senatum existimare cum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum.' "

LII. Postquam Cæsar dicendi finem fecit, ¹ ceteri verbo alius alii varie assentiebantur: at ² M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

" ³ Longe mihi alia mens est, patres conscripti, quum res atque pericula nostra considero, et quum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de pœna eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focis suis bellum paravere: res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam, quid in illis statuamus, consultare. Nam ⁴ cetera maleficia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt: hoc, nisi provideris, ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores: capta urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortales! vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras ⁵ pluris quam rem publicam fecistis, si ista, cujuscunque modi sunt, quæ amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere vultis, expergiscimini aliquando, et capessite rem publicam. ⁶ Non agitur de vectigalibus, neque de sociorum injuriis; libertas et anima nostra in dubio est.

Sæpenumero, patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci, sæpe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortales ea causa adversos habeo. Qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius libidini male facta condonabam. Sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen res publica firma erat; ⁷ opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. ⁸ Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit; sed hæc cujuscunque modi videntur, nostra, an nobiscum una hostium futura sint.

⁹ Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat. Jampridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amissimus, quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur; eo res publica in extremosita est. ¹⁰ Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus ærarii: ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur; et dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnes perditum eant. Bene et composite C. Cæsar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit; ¹¹ credo, falsa existimans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur; ‘diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, fœda atque formidolosa habere.’ Itaque censuit ‘pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos;’ videlicet timens, ne, si Romæ sint, aut a ¹² popularibus conjurationis, aut a multitudine conducti per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; sin in tanto omnium metu ¹³ solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere.

“Quare quum de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ et de omni-

bus conjuratis decernere. ¹⁴ Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paululum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existimare majores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrimam eam nos haberemus: quippe sociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque equorum major nobis copia quam illis est. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere, ¹⁵ quæ nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque libidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum est; ¹⁶ omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum, ¹⁷ ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniæ aut gratiæ servitis; eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rem publicam. Sed ego hæc omitto.

“Conjuravere nobilissimi cives ¹⁸ patriam incendere, Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt; dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiamnunc, quid intra mœnia deprehensis hostibus faciatis? ¹⁹ Misereamini, censeo, (deliquere homines adolescentuli per ambitionem,) atque etiam armatos dimittatis. ²⁰ Næ ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam convertet. ²¹ Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxime; sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium exspectantes cunctamini, videlicet diis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rem publicam in maximis sæpe periculis servavere. ²² Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur, vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt: ubi socordiæ te atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros T.

Manlius Torquatus ²³ bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit, atque ille egregius adolescens, immoderatæ fortitudinis, morte ænas dedit: vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuajis, cunctamini? ²⁴ Videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitia, si famæ suæ, si dis aut hominibus unquam ullis pepercit: ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiæ, nisi iterum jam patriæ bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Cœpario loquar? ²⁵ quibus si quidquam unquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re publica habuissent.

“Postremo, patres conscripti, si meherecule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis; sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urguet; alii intra mœnia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes; neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occulte potest: quo magis properandum est. Quare ita ego censeo: ‘quum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica in maxima pericula venerit, iique indicio T. Vulturii et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint cædem, incendia, aliaque se fœda atque crudelia facinora in cives patriamque paravisse, ²⁶ de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum supplicium sumendum.’”

LIII. Postquam Cato assedit, consulares omnes itemque senatus magna pars sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cœlum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant; Cato clarus atque magnus habetur; senati decretum fit, ¹ sicuti ille censuerat. ² Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra præclara facinora fecit, forte libuit attendere, quæ res maxime tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam sæpenumero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium ³ contendisse; cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum

opulentis regibus ; ad hoc sæpe fortunæ violentiam toleravisse ; facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitati constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse ; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat, ac, ⁴ sicuti effeta parentum, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit. Sed memoria mea, ingenti virtute, diversis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Cæsar : quos quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire non fuit consilium, ⁶ quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

LIV. Igitur his ¹ genus, ætas, eloquentia prope æqualia fuere ; magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis atque munificentia magnus habebatur ; integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus ; huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo ; Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. ² In altero miseris perfugium erat ; in altero malis pernicies : illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare ; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua ³ negligere ; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset ; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxime ⁴ severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque ⁵ factione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinencia certabat ; esse quam videri bonus malebat : ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis illum sequebatur.

LV. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus ¹ in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factu ratus noctem, quæ instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros, quæ

supplicium postulabat, parare jubet: ipse, præsidiis dispositis. Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit ceteris per prætores. Est in carcere locus, ²quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum descenderis ad lævam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper ³camera lapideis fornicibus vineta, sed ineultu, tenebris, odore fœda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, ⁴vindices rerum capitalium, quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex clarissima gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitæ invenit. ⁵De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cœpario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

LVI. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ¹ex omni copia, quam et ipse adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit; cohortes pro numero militum complet: deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, æqualiter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, quum initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis ²instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii præacutas sudas portabant. Sed postquam ³Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montes iter facere, modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam versus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare: sperabat propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romæ socii incepta patravissent. Interea ⁴servitia repudiabat, ejus initio ad eum magnæ copię concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus, simul ⁵alienum suis rationibus existimans, videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

LVII. Sed postquam in castra ¹nuntius pervenit Romæ conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo, et Cethego, ceteris-

que, quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumptum; plerique quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur: reliquos Catilina per montes asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam Transalpinam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno ²præsidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existimans, quæ supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, ³utpote qui magno exercitu locis æquioribus expeditus in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt ⁴montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugæ neque præsidii ullam spem, optimum factu ratus, in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum configere. Itaque, concione advocata, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

LVIII. “¹ Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura aut ²moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet: quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequidquam ³hortere; timor animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti causam ⁴mei consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque eladem attulerit; ⁵quoque modo, dum ex urbe præsidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero quo in loco res nostræ sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, ⁶unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant: diutius in his locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet. Quocunque ire placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti

⁷forti atque parato animo sitis, et, quum prœlium inibitis, meminereitis vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris vestris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, ⁸commeatus abunde, coloniæ atque municipia patebunt: sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa adversa fient: neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Præterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus: illis supervacaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare. Quo audacius aggredimini, memores pristinae virtutis. Licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine in exsilio ætatem agere; ⁹potuistis nonnulli Romæ, amissis bonis, alienas opes exspectare: quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decrevistis. Si hæc relinquere vultis, audacia opus est: nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga salutem sperare, quum arma, ¹⁰quis corpus tegitur, ab hostibus averteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in prælio iis maximum est periculum, qui maxime timent; audacia pro muro habetur. Quum vos considero, milites, et quum facta vestra æstimo, magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, ætas, virtus vestra ¹¹me hortantur, præterea necessitudo, quæ etiam timidos fortes facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. Quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, ¹²cavete, inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini, quam virorum more pugnantes, eruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis."

LIX. Hæc ubi dixit, paululum commoratus, ¹signa canere jubet, atque instructos ordines in locum æquum deducit. Dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus, exæquato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montes, et ²ab dextra rupe aspera, octo cohortes in fronte constituit, reliquarum signa in subsidio arctius

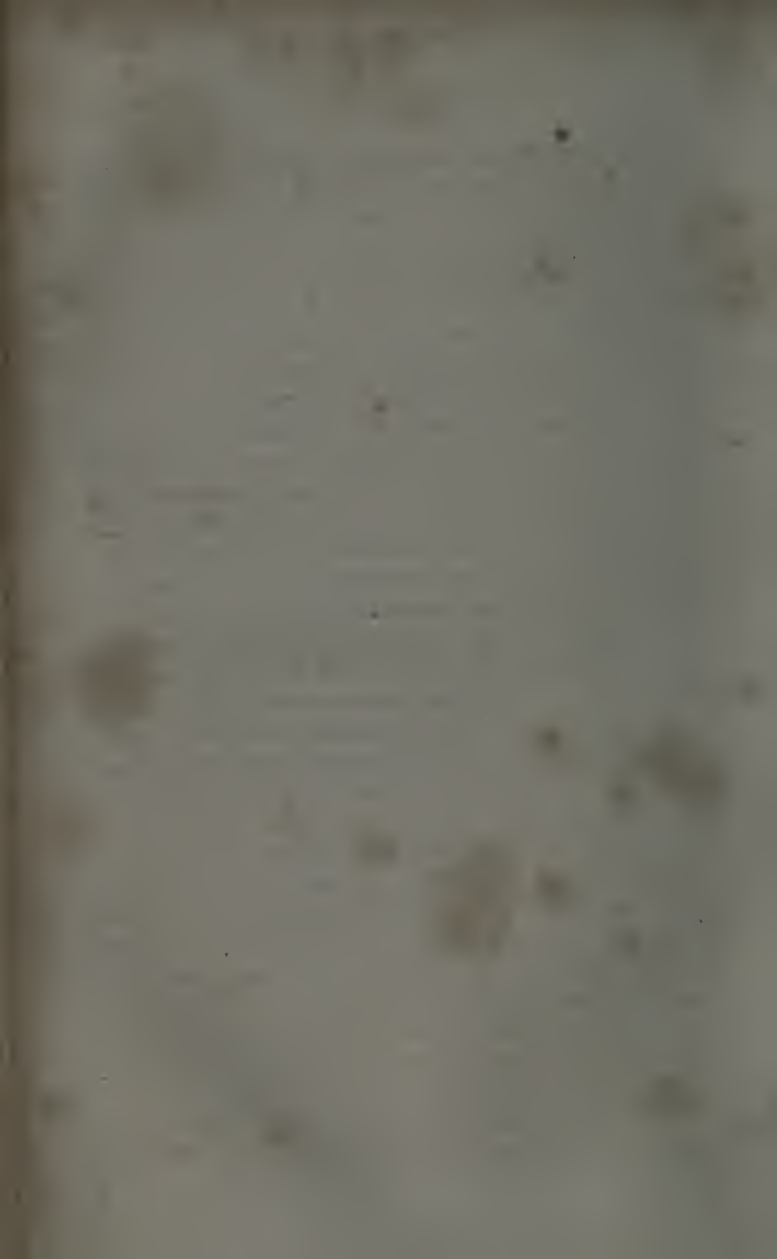
collocat ¹ Ab his centuriones omnes, lectos et evocatos præterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextera, ² Fæsulanum quemdam in sinistra parte curare jubet: ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam assistit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ³ ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus æger, quod prælio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. ⁴ Ille cohortes veteranas, quas tumultû causa conscripserat, in fronte; post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. ⁵ Ipse equo circumiens, unum quemque nominans appellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint se contra latrones inermes, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focus suis certare. ⁶ Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus, aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut prætor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia novetat; ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LX. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius ¹ tuba signum dat, cohortes paulatim incedere jubet; idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam ² eo ventum est, unde a ferentariis prælium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, cominus acriter instare; ³ illi haud timidi resistunt; maxima vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie versari, laborantibus succurrere; integros pro sauciis arcessere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, sæpe hostem ferire: strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius ubi videt Catilinam, ⁴ contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem prætoriam in medios hostes inducit, eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros aggreditur. Manlius et Fæsulanus ⁵ in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina,

memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis, in confertissimos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXI. Sed confecto praelio, tum vero ¹cerneres, quanta audacia quantaque vis animi fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam fere, quem quisque vivus pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos ²medios cohors prætoria disjecerat, paulo diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia neque in praelio neque in fuga quisquam ³civis ingenuus captus est: ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitæ juxta pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani lætam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat; nam ⁴strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in praelio, aut graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris visundi aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum ⁵alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiabant; fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem exercitum ⁶lætitia, mœror, luctus, atque gaudia agitabantur.

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.



C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

BELLUM

JUGURTHINUM.



I. ¹FALSO queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod, imbecilla atque ævi brevis, forte potius quam virtute regatur. Nam contra ²reputando neque majus aliud neque præstabilius invenias, magisque naturæ industriam hominum quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus est; qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis via ³grassatur, abunde pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortuna eget: quippe probitatem, industriam aliasque artes bonas neque dare neque eripere cuiquam potest. ⁴Sin, captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam et voluptates corporis pessumdatus est, perniciose libidine paulisper usus, ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturæ infirmitas accusatur: ⁵suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, ⁶quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura multumque etiam periculosa petunt, ⁷neque regerentur magis, quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent, uti pro mortalibus gloria æterni fierent.

II. Nam uti ¹genus hominum compositum ex corpore et anima est, ita res cunctæ studiaque omnia nostra, corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur ²præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, ad hoc vis corporis et alia hujusemodi omnia brevi dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremo ³corporis et fortunæ bonorum ut initium, sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt: animus incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum ⁴admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam ætatem agunt, ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque socordia torpescere sinunt; quum præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. Verum ¹ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum minime mihi hac tempestate cupiunda videntur; quoniam neque virtuti honos datur, neque illi, quibus per fraudem is fuit, tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam ²aut parentes, quamquam et possis, et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est; quum præsertim omnes rerum mutationes eadem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant: ³frustra autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quærere, extremæ dementiæ est: ⁴nisi forte quem inhonesta et pernicioza libido tenet, potentiæ paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

IV. Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quæ ingenio exerceantur, in primis magno usui est ¹memoria rerum gestarum: cujus de virtute quia multi dixere, prætereundum puto, simul, ²ne per insolentiam quis existimet memet studium meum laudando extollere. Atque ego credo ³fore, qui, quia decevi procul a re publica ætatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant; certe, quibus maxima

industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviiis gratiam quaerere. ⁴ Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratum adeptus sim, et quales viri idem assequi nequiverint, et postea quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint, profecto existimabunt me magis merito quam ignavia iudicium animi mei mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo, quam ex aliorum negotiis, rei publicæ venturum. Nam sæpe ego audivi, ⁵ Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, 'quum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi.' ⁶ Scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregius viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contra, quis est omnium ⁷ his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum majoribus suis contendat? Etiam ⁸ homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur; ⁹ proinde quasi prætura et consulatus, atque alia omnia hujusmodi, per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea sustinent, virtus est. Verum ego liberius altiusque processi, ¹⁰ dum me civitatis morum piget tædetque: nunc ad inceptum redeo.

V. ¹ Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha rege Numidarum, gessit: primum, quia magnum et atrox variaque victoria fuit; dein, quia tunc primum superbiæ nobilitatis obviam itum est. Quæ contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque recordiæ processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiæ finem faceret. Sed priusquam hujusmodi rei initium expedio, ² pauca supra repetam, quo ad cognoscendum omnia illustria magis magisque in aperto sint. ³ Bello Punico

secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiæ opes maximæ attriverat, Masinissa ⁵rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, ⁶cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat; ob quæ, victis Carthaginiensibus, et capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus, quascumque urbes et agros manu ceperat, regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissæ bona atque honesta nobis permansit: ⁷imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Manastabale et Gulusa fratribus morbo absumptis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit; Jugurthamque, Manastabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, ⁸privatum reliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. ¹Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare; et, quum omnes gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse; ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire; plurimum facere, minimum ipse de se loqui. ²Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio lætus fuerat, existimans virtutem Jugurthæ regno suo gloriæ fore, tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, exacta sua ætate, et parvis liberis, magis magisque crescere intellegit, vehementer eo negotio permotus, multa cum animo suoolvebat. Terrebat eum natura mortalium, avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, præterea ³opportunitas suæ liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros spe prædæ transversos agit; ad hoc ⁴studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa, ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat,

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum ¹popularibus, quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et appetens gloriæ militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur ²bello Numantino Micipsa, quum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium sævitia facile eum occasurum, præfecit Numidis. quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res ³longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque aeri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tunc ⁴Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore, multaque cura, præterea modestissime parendo, et sæpe obviam eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac sane, ⁵quod difficillimum in primis est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio; ⁶quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem afferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnes fere res asperas per Jugurtham ⁷agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque eum in dies amplecti; quippe ejus neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Hue accedebat munificentia animi et ingenii solertia, quæ rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures ¹novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiæ bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti, qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, 'si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore, uti solus imperii Numidiæ potiretur: in ipso maximam virtutem; Romæ omnia venalia esse.' Sed postquam, Numantia deleta, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse reverti domum decrevit, ²donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium abduxit, ibique secreto monuit

‘uti potius ³publice quam privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret, ⁴neu quibus largiri insuesceret; ⁵periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum; sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia præcipitem casurum.’

IX. Sic locutus, ¹cum litteris eum, quas Micipsæ redderet. dimisit. Earum sententia hæc erat: “Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit, quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est: uti idem senatui et populo Romano sit, summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissa.” Igitur rex, ubi ea, quæ ²fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, quum virtute tum gratia viri permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere aggressus est; statimque eum adoptavit, et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, ³morbo atque ætate confectus, quum sibi finem vitæ adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis, itemque Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.

X. “¹Parvum ego te, Jugurtha, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi, existimans non minus me tibi, quam si genuissem, ob beneficia earum fore: neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissime, rediens Numantia, meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti, tuaque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis ²amicissimos fecisti; in Hispania nomen familiæ renovatum est; postremo, quod diffieillimum inter mortales est, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitæ facit, per hanc dextram, ³per regni fidem moneo obtestorque te uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exerci-

tus neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas; ⁴ officio et fide pariuntur. ⁵ Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvæ res crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur. ⁶ Ceterum ante hos te, Jugurtha, qui ætate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet; nam in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiam si accipit injuriam, tamen quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, ⁷ colite, observate talem hunc virum; imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar, quam genuisse."

XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ¹ ficta locutum intellegebat, et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. Postquam illi more regio ² justa magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenerunt, ut inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus ex illis erat, ³ natura ferox, et jam ante ignobilitatem Jugurthæ, quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextera Adherbalem assedit, ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen ut ætati concederet ⁴ fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi quum multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res ⁵ jacet, 'oportere quinquennii consulta et decreta omnia rescindi; nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse.' Tum ⁶ idem Hiempsal 'placere sibi' respondit; 'nam ipsum illum tribus proximis annis adoptione in regnum pervenisse.' ⁷ Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthæ altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Itaque ex eo tempore ⁸ ira et metu anxius moliri, parare. atque ea modo

animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur.
⁹ Quæ ubi tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, ¹ propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros, finesque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca ²propinqua thesauris, alius alio, concessere. Sed Hiempsal ³in oppido Thirmita forte ejus domo utebatur, qui proximus licitor Jugurthæ carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat: ⁴quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat, impellitque, uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum claves adulterinas paret, nam verè ad Hiempsalem referebantur; ceterum, ⁵'ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum.' Numida mandata brevi conficit, atque, ut doctus erat, noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit. ⁶Qui postquam in ædes irrupere, diversi regem quærere, dormientes alios, alios occursantes interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere; quum interim Hiempsal reperitur, occultans sese tugurio mulieris ancillæ, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidæ caput ejus, uti jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

XIII. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur: Adherbalem omnesque, qui sub imperio Micipsæ fuerant, metus invadit: ¹in duas partes discedunt Numidæ: plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maximas potest copias armat, urbes ²partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit, omni Numidiæ imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, ³qui senatum docerent de cæde fratris et fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex proelio profugit ⁴in provinciam, ac deinde Romam

contendit. Tum Jugurtha, ⁶patratis consiliis, postquam omnis Numidiæ potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque adversus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecunia sua, spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo legatos Romam mittit, ⁶quis præcepit, primum ‘uti veteres amicos muneribus expleant, deinde novos acquirant, postremo quæcunque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur.’ Sed ubi Romam legati venere, et ex præcepto regis ⁷hospitibus aliisque, quorum ea tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere, tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxima invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret, quorum pars spe, alii præmio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur ubi legati ⁸satis confidunt, die constituto senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus :

XIV. “Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi præcepit ‘¹uti regni Numidiæ tantummodo procurationem existimarem meam, ceterum jus et imperium ejus penes vos esse: simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano; vos mihi cognatorum, vos affinium loco ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum.’ ²Quæ quum præcepta parentis mei agitare, Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vestro, Masinissæ me nepotem, et jam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, patres conscripti, ³quoniam eo miserrimus venturus eram, vellem potius ob mea quam ob maiorum meorum beneficia posse a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxime deberi mihi beneficia a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum, ea si desideranda erant, uti debitis uter. Sed quoniam parum tuta ‘per se ipsa probitas est.

neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret, ad vos confugi, patres conscripti, quibus. quod mihi miserrimum est, egor prius oneri quam usui esse. Ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram appetiverunt: familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, ⁵quo tempore magis fides ejus quam fortuna petenda erat. ⁶Quorum progeniem vos, patres conscripti, nolite pati me, nepotem Masinissæ frustra a vobis auxilium petere.

Si ⁷ad impetrandum nihil causæ haberem præter miserandam fortunam, quod paulo ante rex genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto, tamen erat majestatis populi Romani prohibere injuriam, neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit; unde pater et avus meus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, patres conscripti, vos in mea injuria despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! ⁸Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere, ut, quem tu parem cum liberis tuis, regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuæ extinetor sit? Nunquam ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia sæva patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam ⁹illa pestis ex Africa ejecta est, læti pacem agitabamus; quippe quis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem vos jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improvviso Jugurtha intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia ¹⁰sese efferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui prædam fecit: post, ubi me iisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus quam vim aut bellum exspectantem in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, ex-

torrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutius quam in meo regno essem.

“Ego sic existimabam, patres conscripti, ut prædican-
tem audiveram patrem meum, ¹¹ ‘qui vestram amicitiam
diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum
ex omnibus maxime tutos esse.’ ¹² Quod in familia nostra
fuit, præstitit, uti in omnibus bellis adesset vobis: nos uti
per otium tuti simus, in vestra manu est, patres conscripti.
Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; ¹³ tertium, Jugurtham,
beneficiis suis ratus est conjunctum nobis fore. Alter
eorum necatus est, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix
effugi. Quid agam? aut quo potissimum infelix accedam?
Generis præsidia omnia extincta sunt: pater, uti necesse
erat, naturæ concessit; fratri, ¹⁴ quem minime decuit, pro-
pinquus per scelus vitam eripuit; affines, amicos, propin-
quos ceteros, alium alia clades oppressit: capti ab Jugur-
tha pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt; pauci,
quibus relieta est anima, clausi in tenebris cum mœrore et
luctu mortē graviores vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quæ aut
amisi, aut ex necessariis adversa facta sunt, incolumia ma-
nerent, tamen, si quid ex improvise mali accidisset, vos im-
plorarem, patres conscripti, ¹⁵ quibus pro magnitudine im-
perii jus et injurias omnes curæ esse decet. Nunc vero
exsul patria, domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum
egens, quo accidam, aut quos appellem? nationesne an
reges, qui omnes familiæ nostræ ob vestram amicitiam in-
festi sunt? an quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non majorum
meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint? aut quisquam
¹⁶ nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit?

Postremo Masinissa nos ita instituit, patres conscripti,
‘ne quem coleremus nisi populum Romanum, ne socie-
tates, ne fœdera nova acciperemus; abunde magna præ-
sidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore; si ¹⁷ huic imperio for-
tuna mutaretur, una occidendum nobis esse.’ Virtute ac

dis volentibus, magni estis et opulenti, omnia ¹⁸ secunda et obedientia sunt; quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthæ parum cognita transversos agat, quos ego audio maxima ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, 'ne quid de absente incognita causa, statuatis: fingere me verba, et fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere.' ¹⁹ Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miserias projectus sum, eadem hæc simulantem videam, et aliquando aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortales rerum humanarum cura oriatur: næ ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus est, omnibus malis exercuciatus, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis mearumque miseriarum graves pœnas reddat. Jam jam frater animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi immaturo, et ²⁰ unde minime decuit, vita erepta est, tamen lætandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuum: non enim regnum, sed fugam, exsilium, egestatem et omnes has, quæ me premunt, ærumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus ex patrio regno, ²¹ rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo, incertus quid agam, ²² tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, an regno consulam, cujus vitæ necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam ²³ emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, neu vivere contemptus viderer, si defessus malis injuriæ concessissem. Nunc neque vivere libet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, ²⁴ per vos liberos atque parentes vestros, per majestatem populi Romani, subvenite misero mihi, ite obviam injuriæ, nolite pati regnum Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiæ nostræ tabescere."

XV. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ, largitione magis quam causa freti, paucis respondent: 'Hiempsalem ob sævitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Adherbalem ¹ ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus

sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset: Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se alium putarent, ac Numantiæ cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent.' Deinde ² utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, præterea ³ magna pars gratia depravata, Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthæ virtutem extollere laudibus; gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et æquum divitiis carius erat, 'subveniendum Adherbali, et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam' censebant: sed ex omnibus maxime ⁴ Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum, ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt ⁵ regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta libidine continuit.

XVI. ¹ Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quæ vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, 'uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent.' ² Cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens, quia consul, C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrime victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romæ in inimicis habuerat, tamen ³ accuratissime recepit: dando et pollicitando multa perfecit, uti famæ, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferebat. Reliquos legatos eadem via aggressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit. In divisione, ⁴ quæ pars Numidiæ Mauritaniæ attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur; illam alteram specie quam usu potiore, quæ portuosior et ædificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

XVII. Res postulare videtur Africæ situm paucis exponere, et eas gentes, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amici-

tia fuit, ¹ attingere. Sed ² quæ loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de iis haud facile compertum narraverim; cetera quam paucissimis absolvam.

In divisione orbis terræ plerique ³ in parte tertia Africam posuere; pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse, sed Africam in Europa. ⁴ Ea fines habet ab occidente fretum nostri maris et Oceani; ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ appellant. ⁵ Mare sævum, importuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbore infecundus; cœlo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum: plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere; nam morbus haud sæpe quemquam superat. Ad hoc malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed ⁶ qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama, quæ plerosque obtinet, diversum est, tamen, uti ex libris Punicis, qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quam paucissimis dicam: ceterum ⁷ fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. Africam initio habuere Gætuli et Libyes, asperi incultique, ¹ quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus neque lege, aut imperio cujusquam regebantur: vagi, palantes, qua nox coegerat, sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania ² Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim multis, sibi quisque, imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. ³ Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ et Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupare; sed Persæ ⁴ intra Oceanum magis: hique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emundi aut mutandi copia erat: mare magnum et ignara

lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paulatim ⁶ per connubia Gætulos secum miscuere; et quia sæpe tentantes agros, alia deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere. Ceterum ⁶ adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ sunt. Medi autem et Armenii, ⁷ accessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant; Gætuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus); hique mature oppida habuere; nam freto divisi ab Hispania mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen ⁸ eorum paulatim Libyes corrumperet, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit; ac postea, ⁹ nomine Numidæ, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possedere ea loca, quæ proxime Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Deinde ¹⁰ utrique alteris freti, finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium suum coëgere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis ii, qui ad nostrum mare processerant, quia Libyes quam Gætuli minus bellicosi. Denique Africæ pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est; victi omnes in gentem, nomenque imperantium concessere.

XIX. Postea Phœnices, ¹ alii multitudinis domi minuentæ gratia, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumentum, Leptim aliasque urbes in ora maritima condidere; eæque brevi multum auctæ, pars originibus suis præsidio, aliæ decori fuere. ² Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere, quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ³ ad Catabathmon, qui locus Ægyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Theræon, ac deinceps duæ Syrtes, interque eas Leptis, deinde Philænon aræ, quem locum Ægyptum versus finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses; post aliæ Punicæ urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidæ tenent: proxime Hispaniam Mauri sunt. ⁴ Super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus, partim

in tuguriis, alios ineultius vagos agitare, post eos Æthiopas esse, dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino ^o pleraque ex Punicis oppida et fines Carthaginiensium, quos novissime habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat: Gætulorum magna pars, et Numidæ usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant: Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, præter nomen cetera ignarus populi Romani, itemque nobis neque bello neque pace antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XX. Postquam, ¹diviso regno, legati Africa decessere, et Jugurtha contra timorem animi præmia sceleris adeptum sese videt, certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numanitiam acceperat, omnia Romæ venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paulo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus; at is, ²quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriæ, metuens magis quam metuendus. Igitur ex improvise fines ejus cum magna manu invadit; multos mortales cum pecore atque alia præda ³capit, ædificia incendit, pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit: deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit; existimans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli causam fore. ⁴At ille, quod neque se parem armis existimabat, et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit: qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum sumere, quia tentatum antea secus cesserat. ⁵Neque eo magis cupido Jugurthæ minuebatur; quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum prædatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato bellum gerere cœpit, et aperte totius Numidiæ imperium petere. Cete-

rum, qua pergebat, urbes, agros ⁶ vastare, prædas agere; suis animum, hostibus terrorem augere.

XXI. Adherbal ubi intellegit ¹ eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat, et Jugurthæ obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari, ² prope Cirtam oppidum, utriusque con-sedit exercitus, et quia diei extremum erat, prælium non inceptum. Sed ubi plerumque noctis ³ processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque. Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit; et, ni multitudo ⁴ togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentes mœnibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges cœptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circum-sedit, ⁵ vinceis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur; maxime festinans ⁶ tempus legatorum antecapere, quos, ante prælium factum, ab Adherbale Romam missos audiverat. Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum ⁷ accepit, tres adolescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambos reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuntient, ⁸ 'velle et censere eos ab armis discedere; de controversiis suis jure potius quam bello disceptare: ita seque illisque dignum esse.'

XXII. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis, quod Romæ, dum proficisci parant, de prælio facto et oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur: sed is rumor ¹ clemens erat. ² Quorum, Jugurtha, accepta oratione, respondit: 'sibi neque majus quicquam neque carius auctoritate senatus esse; ab adolescentia ita se enisum, ut ab optimo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse; ob easdem artes ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum esse. Ceterum ³ quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare. Adherbalem dolis vitæ suæ insidiatum; quod

ubi comperisset, sceleri ejus obviam isse: populum Romanum ¹neque recte neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit: postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum.' Ita ²utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis appellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. Jugurtha ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, ¹neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa mœnia circumdat, turres exstruit, easque præsidiis firmat: præterea dies noctesque aut per vim, aut dolis tentare; defensoribus mœnium præmia modo, modo formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem arrigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intellegit omnes suas fortunas in extremo sitas, ²hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse, ex iis, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duos, maxime impigros delegit; eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent. Numidæ paucis diebus jussa efficiunt; ³litteræ Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sententia hæc fuit.

XXIV. "Non mea culpa sæpe ad vos oratum mitto, patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthæ subigit, quem tanta libido extinguendi me invasit, uti neque vos neque deos immortales ¹in animo habeat, sanguinem meum quam omnia malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor, neque ²mihî Micipsæ patris mei beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur; ferro an fame acrius urgear, incertus sum. ³Plura de Jugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea, et jam antea expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse: ⁴nisi tamen intellego illum supra, quam ego sum, petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram et regnum meum sperare: ⁵utrum gravius existimet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem, fratrem meum, dein patrio regno me ex-

pulit. ° Quæ sane fuerint nostræ injuriæ, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet, me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba 7 quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. ° Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et hæc, quæ scribo, et illa, quæ antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam 2 eo natus sum, ut Jugurthæ scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque ærumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, uti libet, consulite: me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissæ."

XXV. His litteris recitatis, 1 fuere, qui 'exercitum in Africam mittendum' censerent, 'et quam primum Adherbali subveniundum: de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam legatis non paruisset.' Sed ab iisdem illis regis fautoribus 2 summa ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam 3 majores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus usi; in quibus fuit M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis, et tunc in senatu princeps. Hi, quod 'res in invidia erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere: deinde brevi Uticam appulsi litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, 'quam ocissime ad provinciam accedat, seque ad eum ab senatu missos.' Ille ubi acceperat homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romæ pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse, primo commotus, 5 metu atque libidine diversus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, ni paruisset legatis: porro animus cupidine cæcus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. ° Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravam consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur; maxime sperans, di-

ducta manu hostium, aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriæ inventurum. ⁷ Quod ubi secus procedit, neque. quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti prius. quam legatos conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur, ne amplius morando Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac tametsi senati verbis graves minæ nuntiabantur, quod ab oppugnatione non desisteret, ⁸ multa tamen oratione consumpta. legati frustra discessere.

XXVI. Ea postquam Cirtæ audita sunt, ¹ Italici, quorum virtute mœnia defensabantur, confisi, deditione facta, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, 'uti seque et oppidum Jugurthæ tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur, de ceteris senatui curæ fore.' At ille, tametsi omnia ² potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur, tamen, quia penes eosdem, si adversaretur, cogendi potestas erat. ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Jugurtha ³ in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat; deinde omnes puberes Numidas et negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obviis fuerat, interfecit.

XXVII. ¹ Quod postquam Romæ cognitum est, et res in senatu agitari cœpta, iidem illi ministri regis interpellando, ac sæpe gratia interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, ² vir acer et infestus potentiæ nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset 'id agi, uti per paucos factiosos Jugurthæ scelus condonaretur,' profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa foret: tanta vis gratiæ atque pecuniæ regis erat. Sed ubi senatus ³ delicti conscientia populum timet, ⁴ lege Sempronia provinciæ futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretæ, consules declarati P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia ⁵ obvenit: deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur: stipendium aliaque, quæ bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuntio accepto, quippe cui Romæ ¹omnia venum ire in animo hæserat, filium et cum eo duos familiares ad senatum legatos mittit; hisque, ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, præcepit, omnes mortales pecunia aggrediantur.' ² Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestia consultus est, 'placeretne legatos Jugurthæ recipi mœnibus:' iique decrevere, 'nisi regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus proximis decem Italia decederent.' Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nuntiari jubet; ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, ³legat sibi homines nobiles, factiosos, quorum auctoritate, quæ deliquisset, munita fore sperabat: in quibus fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam ⁴in consule nostro multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia præpediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectæ. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis commeatibus, acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multosque mortales et urbes aliquot pugnando cepit.

XXIX. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos ¹pecunia tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere cœpit, animus æger avaritia facile conversus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum assumitur Scaurus; qui tametsi ²a principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrime regem impugnaverat, tamen magnitudine pecuniæ a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primo tantummodo belli moram ³redimebat, existimans sese aliquid interim Romæ pretio aut gratia effecturum; postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum accepit, in maximam spem adductus recuperandæ pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus pactionibus præsens agere. Ceterum interea.

⁴ fidei causa mittitur a consule Sextius quæstor in oppidum Jugurthæ Vagam; ejus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat, quoniam deditionis mora induciæ agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit; ac pauca, ⁶ præsentī consilio, locutus de invidia facti sui, atque in deditionem uti acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit: dein postero die, quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti ⁶ pro consilio imperatum erat, elephantī triginta, pecus atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere quæstorī traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. Postquam res in Africa gestas, ¹ quoque modo actæ forent, fama divulgavit, Romæ per omnes locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari. Apud plebem ² gravis invidia; patres solliciti erant; probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat: ac maxime eos potentia Scauri, ³ quod is auctor et socius Bestiæ ferebatur, a vero bonoque impediēbat. At C. Memmius, ejus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiæ nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senati concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari, monere, ne rem publicam, ne libertatem suam desererent; multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam ea tempestate Romæ Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existinavi unam ex tam multis orationem ejus perscribere, ⁴ ac potissimum ea dicam, quæ in concione post reditum Bestiæ hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.

XXXI. " Multa me ¹ dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium rei publicæ omnia superet, opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxime, quod innocentia plus periculi quam honori est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere,

³ his annis quindecim quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum; quam foede quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores; ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxiiis inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed quamquam hæc talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae ³ animus subigit. Certe ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar: verum id frustra an ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm est, Quirites. ⁴ Neque ego vos hortor, quod sæpe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessionem opus est: necesse est, suomet ipsi more præcipientes eant. ⁵ Occiso T. Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones habitæ sunt. Post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvii cædem, item vestri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt: utriusque cladis non lex, verum libido eorum finem fecit. ⁶ Sed sane fuerit regni paratio plebi sua restituere: quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. ⁷ Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini ærarium expilari, reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere, penes eosdem et summam gloriam, et maximas divitias esse: tamen hæc talia facinora impune suscepisse parum habuere; itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet aut pœnitet, sed incedunt ⁶ per ora vestra magnifici, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes, perinde quasi ea honori, non prædæ habeant. Servi ære parati injusta imperia dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, ⁹ imperio nati, æquo animo servitutem toleratis? At qui sunt hi, qui rem publicam occupavere? Homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissimi iidemque superbissimi; quis fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta, omnia quæstui sunt. ¹⁰ Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii

quæstiones injustas, plerique eadem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. ¹¹ Ita quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime tutus est; metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere: quos omnes eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit: sed hæc inter bonos amicitia, ¹² inter malos factio est. ¹³ Quod si tam vos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vestra penes optimos, non audacissimos, forent. Majores vestri parandi juris et majestatis constituendæ gratia bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, quo majus dedecus est ¹⁴ parts amittere, quam omnino non paravisse. Dicet aliquis: "Quid igitur censes?" ¹⁵ Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rem publicam; non manu neque vi, quod magis vos fecisse quam illis accidisse indignum est, verum quæstionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthæ, qui si dedititius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens crit; sin ea contemnit, scilicet existimabit qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentes maximæ divitiæ, in rem publicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint. ¹⁶ Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa quam hæc tempora magis placent, quum regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere; nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum reusare audebat? Atque ego, tametsi viro flagitiosissimum existimo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, æquo animo paterer, ni misericordia ¹⁷ in perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis, ¹⁸ quantum importunitatis habent, parum est impune male fecisse, nisi

deinde faciendi licentia eripitur, et vobis æterna sollicitudo remanebit, quum intellegetis aut serviundum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quæ spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere; postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque vos, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus ærarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptæ pecuniæ; quæ quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur: hosti acerrimo prodita senatus auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum; domi militiaeque res publica venalis fuit. ¹⁹ Quæ nisi quæsitæ erunt, nisi vindicatum in noxios, quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obediētes vivamus? nam impune quælibet facere, ²⁰ id est regem esse. Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis eives vestros ²¹ perperam quam recte fecisse, sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc in re publica multo præstat beneficii quam maleficii immemorem esse; bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ²² ubi negligas, at malus improbior. Ad hoc si injuriæ non sint, haud sæpe auxilii egeas."

XXXII. Hæc atque alia hujusemodi sæpe dicendo, Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, eumque, ¹ interposita fide publica, Romam duceret, quo facilius indicio regis, Seauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcescebant, delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, ² qui in Numidia relictī a Bestia exercitui præerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui, plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. ³ Fuere, qui auro corrupti elephantos Jugurthæ traderent: alii perfugas vendere, pars ex pacatis prædas agebant: tanta vis avaritiæ in animos eorum veluti tabes invaserat. At Cassius, ⁴ perlata rogatione a C. Memmio, ac percussa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur; eique timido et ex conscientia

diffidenti rebus suis persuadet, 'quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam misericordiam ejus experiri mallet.' Privatum præterea fidem suam interponit, quam ^o ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

XXXIII. Igitur Jugurtha, ¹ contra decus regium, cultu quam maxime miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit. Ac tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quæ supra diximus, C. Bæbium tribunum plebis magna mercede ² parat, ejus impudentia contra jus et injurias omnes munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione, quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars 'in vincula duci' jubebat, ³ pars, 'ni socios sceleris sui aperiret, more majorum de hoste supplicium sumi;' dignitati quam iræ magis consulens, sedare motus, et animos eorum mollire; postremo confirmare 'fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore.' Post, ubi silentium cœpit, producto Jugurtha, 'verba facit; Romæ Numidiæque facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque ostendit. ⁶ "Quibus juvantibus quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intellegat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere. Si verum aperiatur, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam: sin reticeat, ^o non sociis saluti fore, sed se suasque spes corrupturum.'

XXXIV. Deinde, ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Bæbius, tribunus plebis, ¹ quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet: ac tametsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione discedit: Jugurthæ Bestiæque et ceteris, quos illa quæstio exagibat, ² animi augescunt.

XXXV. Erat ea tempestate Romæ Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussæ filius, Masinissæ nepos; qui, quia, in dissensione regum Jugurthæ adversus fuerat, ¹ dedita Cirta, et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui ² proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, 'quoniam ex stirpe Masinissæ sit, Jugurthamque ob scelera invidia cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiæ ab senatu petat.' Avildus consul ³ belli gerundi moveri, quam senescere omnia malebat; ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quæ postquam Massiva agitare cœpit, neque Jugurthæ in amicis satis præsidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediabat, Bomileari, ⁴ proximo ac maxime fido sibi, imperat, 'pretio,' sicuti multa confecerat, 'insidiatores Massivæ paret, ac maxime occulte, sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat.' Bomilear mature regis mandata exsequitur; et per homines ⁵ talis negotii artifices itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat; deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ⁶ ex eo numero, qui ad cædem parati erant, paulo inconsultius Massivam aggreditur, illum obtruncat; sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus et in primis Albino consule, indicium proficitur. ⁷ Fit reus magis ex æquo bonoque quam ex jure gentium Bomilear, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha ⁸ manifestus tanti sceleris non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animum advertit supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam ⁹ in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilearem dimittit, veritus ne reliquos populares metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumptum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus eodem profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italia decedere. Sed postquam Roma egres-

sus est, fertur sæpe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse: 'urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.'

XXXVI. Interim Albinus. renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium aliaque, quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ¹ ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat, armis aut deditione aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha ² trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias moræ causas facere; polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare; cedere instanti, et paulo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existimarent; neque ex tanta properantia ³ tam facile tractum bellum socordia magis quam dolo crederent. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitiarum dies adventabat, Albinus. Aulo fratre in castris ⁴ pro prætore relicto, Romanam decessit.

XXXVII. Ea tempestate Romæ ¹ seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter res publica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistantibus collegis, ² continuare magistratum nitebantur: quæ dissensio totius anni comitia impediēbat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro prætore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiundi belli aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniæ capiundæ, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat, magnisque itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. ³ Quod quamquam et sævitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat (nam circum murum, situm in prærupti montis extremo, planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat); tamen, aut ⁴ simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine cæcus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi. vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque, quæ incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha, cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati, ¹ subdolus ejus augere amentiam, missitare supplicantes legatos, ipse quasi vitabundus per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum ² spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese veluti cedentem insequeretur: 'ita delicta occultiora fore.' Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum ³ tentabat; centuriones ducesque turmarum, partim uti transfugerent, corrumpere; alii, signo dato, locum uti desererent. ⁴ Quæ postquam ex sententia instruit, intempesta nocte de improvviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, perculsi tumultu insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere; pars territos confirmare; ⁵ trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium, cælum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum, periculum anceps: postremo fugere an manere tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ⁶ ex eo numero, quos paulo ante corruptos diximus. cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus transiit ad regem, et ⁷ centurio primi pili tertiæ legionis ⁸ per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit, eaque Numidæ cuncti irrupere. Nostri fœda fuga, plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque præda castrorum ⁹ hostes, quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt. Deinde Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: ¹⁰ 'tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame et ferro clausum tenet, tamen se humanarum rerum memorem, si secum fœdus faceret, incolumes omnes sub jugum missurum: præterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet.' ¹¹ Quæ quamquam gravia et flagitii plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabantur, sicuti regi libuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. Sed ubi ea Romæ comperta sunt, metus atque mœror civitatem invasere. Pars dolere pro gloria

imperii, pars insolita rerum bellicarum ¹timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxime, qui bello sæpe præclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quæsiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam ac deinde periculum timens, senatum ²de fœdere consulebat; et tamen interim exercitui supplementum scribere, ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcescere, denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, ³decernit, 'suo atque populi injussu nullum potuisse fœdus fieri.' Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ⁴ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur: nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit, quamquam persequi Jugurtham et ⁵mederi fraternæ invidiæ animo ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos præter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruerat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitandum.

XL. Interim Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis ¹rogationem ad populum promulgat, 'Uti quaereretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglexisset; quique ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias acceperant; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item, qui de pace aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent.' ²Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos, ac maxime per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. ³Sed plebes incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit, magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura rei publicæ: tanta libido in partibus erat. Igitur ceteris metu percussis, M. Scaurus, ⁴quem legatum Bestiæ fuisse supra docui-

mus, inter lætitiā plebis et suorum fugam, trepida etiam-
tum civitate, quum ex Mamiliī rogatione tres quæsitores
rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed
⁵ quæstio exercita aspere violenterque, ex rumore et libi-
dine plebis: ut sæpe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem
ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. Ceterum mos partium popularium et senatus fac-
tionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium, paucis ante
annis Romæ ortus est, otio et abundantia earum rerum,
quæ ¹ prima mortales ducunt. Nam, ² ante Carthaginem
deletam, populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque
inter se rem publicam tractabant; neque gloriæ neque
dominationis certamen inter cives erat: metus hostilis in
bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido
mentibus decessit, ³ scilicet ea, quæ res secundæ amant,
lascivia atque superbia incessere. ⁴ Ita, quod in adversis
rebus optaverant otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius
acerbiusque fuit. Namque cœpere nobilitas dignitatem,
populus libertatem, in libidinem vertere: ⁵ sibi quisque
ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta
sunt; res publica, quæ mediā fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum
⁶ nobilitas factione magis pollebat; plebis vis, soluta atque
dispersa in multitudine, minus poterat. Paucorum arbitrio
belli domique ⁷ agitabatur; penes eosdem ærarium, provin-
ciæ, magistratus, gloriæ triumphique erant; populus militia
atque inopia urgebatur: prædas bellicas imperatores cum
paucis diripiebant: interea parentes aut parvi liberi mili-
tum, ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pelleban-
tur. Ita cum potentia avaritia ⁸ sine modo modestiaque
invadere, polluere et vastare omnia, nihil pensi neque sancti
habere, quoad semet ipsa præcipitavit. Nam ubi primum
ex nobilitate ⁹ reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustæ poten-
tiæ anteponerent, moveri civitas, et dissensio civilis, quasi
permixtio terræ, oriri cœpit.

XLII. Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus, ¹quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum rei publicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem, et paucorum scelera patefacere cœpere, nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum. interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat. Et sane Gracchis cupidine victoriæ haud satis moderatus animus fuit: ²sed bono vinci satius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur ³ea victoria nobilitas ex libidine sua usa, multos mortales ferro aut fuga exstinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris quam potentiæ addidit. Quæ res plerumque magnas civitates pessumdedit, dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo, et victos acerbius uleisci volunt. Sed ⁴de studiis partium et omnis civitatis moribus si singulatim aut pro magnitudine parem diserere, tempus quam res maturius me deseret: quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

XLIII. Post Auli fœdus exercitusque nostri fœdam fugam, Metellus et Silanus, ¹consules designati, provincias inter se partiverant, Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, et, quamquam adverso populi partium, fama tamen æquabili et inviolata. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, ²alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, ³præsidia undique arcessere, arma, tela, equos et cetera instrumenta militiæ parare, ad hoc commeatum affatim, denique omnia, quæ in bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum ⁴ad ea patranda, senatus auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, et reges ultro auxilia mittendo, postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex sententia omnibus rebus

paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magna spe civium, ⁵ quum propter artes bonas, tum maxime, quod adversum divitias invictum animum gerebat; et avaritia magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostræ opes contusæ, hostiumque auctæ erant.

XLIV. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur a Sp. Albino pro consule, ¹ iners, imbellis, neque periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, prædator ex sociis et ipse præda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quam ex copia militum auxilii aut bonæ spei accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et ² æstivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et expectatione eventus civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum attingere, quam majorum disciplina milites laborare coegisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade percussus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, ³ quantum temporis æstivorum in imperio fuit, plerumque milites stativis castris habebat; nisi quum odos aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque muniebantur ⁴ ea, neque more militari vigiliæ deducebantur: uti cuique libebat, ab signis aberat. ⁵ Lixæ permixti cum militibus die noctuque vagabantur, palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum prædas certantes agere, eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio et aliis talibus; præterea frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari: postremo, quæcumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviæ luxuriæque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; ¹ tanta temperantia inter ambitionem sævitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primum ² adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse; ³ ne quisquam in castris panem aut quem alium

coctum cibum venderet; ne lixæ exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris neve in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet:’ ceteris arte modum statuisset. Præterea ³ transversis itineribus quotidie castra movere, juxta ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere, et eas ipse cum legatis circumire: item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, sæpe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur, ‘uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis quam vindicando ⁶ exercitum brevi confirmavit.

XLVI. Interea Jugurtha, ubi, quæ Metellus agebat, ex nuntiis accepit, simul ¹ de innocentia ejus certior Roma factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem ² cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. ³ Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque ‘legatos alium ab alio diversos aggreditur; ac paulatim tentando, postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, ‘uti Jugurtham maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent:’ ceterum palam, quæ ex voluntate forent, regi nuntiari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto exercitu, in Numidiam procedit; ⁶ ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant; ex oppidis et mapalibus præfecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, ⁶ munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, et insidiis locum tentari. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos

erat; in postremo ⁷ C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat: in utrumque latus auxilios equites tribunis legionum et præfectis cohortium dispertiverat, ut cum his permixti ⁸ velites, quocunque accederent equitatus hostium, propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus tantaque peritia locorum et militiæ erat, ⁹ ut, absens an præsens, pacem an bellum gerens perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, ¹ forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum; ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. ² Huc consul, simul tentandi gratia, et, si paterentur, opportunitate loci præsidium imposuit; præterea imperavit frumentum et alia, quæ bello usui forent, comportare; ratus, id quod res monebat, ³ frequentiam negotiatorum et comitum juvaturum exercitum, et jam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha ⁴ impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, præter suam liberorumque vitam omnia Metello dedere. ⁵ Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad prodicionem domum dimittebat: regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac ¹ se suis artibus tentari animadvertit; quippe cui verbis pax nuntiabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxima alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati; coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriæ adductus ex opportunitate loci, quam maximas potest copias omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiæ, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme millia

passuum viginti, ² tractu pari. vastus ab natura et humano cultu : sed ³ ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac myrtetis aliisque generibus arborum, quæ humi arido atque arenoso giguuntur. ⁴ Media autem planities deserta penuria aquæ, præter flumini propinqua loca ; ea consita arbustis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

XLIX. Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, ¹ extenuata suorum acie, consedit ; elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilearem præfecit, eumque edocet, quæ ageret ; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos collocat : dein singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, 'uti, memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae, sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant : cum iis certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint : ducem illis, non animum mutatum. ² Quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa ; locum superiorem, ut prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent : proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere : illum diem aut omnes labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maximarum ærumnarum initium fore.' Ad hoc viritum, ³ uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare : postremo, pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitendo, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare ; quum interim Metellus, ⁴ ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicitur, primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti, quidnam esset, quum natura loci, tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati) ; dein, brevi ⁵ cognitis insidiis, paulisper agmen constituit. Ibi ⁶ commutatis ordinibus, in dextero

latere, quod proximum hostes erat, triplieibus subsidiis aciem instruxit; ⁷ inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit, equitatum omnem in cornibus locat, ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transversis principiis, in planum deducit.

L. Sed ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvertit, veritus ex anni tempore et inopia aquæ, ¹ ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum præmisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet; existimans hostes crebro impetu et transversis præliis iter suum remoratorios, et, quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos. Deinde ² ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paulatim procedere: Marium post principia habere: ipse cum sinistra alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi ³ extremum agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt, præsidio quasi duum millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat, ne forte cedentibus adversariis receptui ac post munimento foret; dein repente, signo dato, hostes invadit. Numidæ, alii ⁴ postremos cædere, pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare; quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prælio, ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriundi aut conserendi manum copia erat. Ante jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turma insequi cœperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxime diversi. Ita ⁵ numero priores, si ab persequendo hostes deterrire nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugæ collis quam campi fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

LI. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, fœda atque miserabilis: dispersi a suis, pars cedere, alii insequi; neque signa neque ordines observare; ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: ¹ arma tela, equi viri, hostes atque cives permixti; nihil consilio neque imperio agi; fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, quum etiamtum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et æstu languidis, Metellus, ubi videt ² Numidas minus instare, paulatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortes legionarias quatuor adversum pedites hostium collocat. ³ Eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, 'ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostes fugientes vincere: ⁴ neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quo cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita.' Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus erat; circumire, hortari, renovare prælium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia, subvenire suis, ⁵ hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant, ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam ¹ Metello virtus militum erat, locus adversus; Jugurthæ alia omnia præter milites opportuna. Denique ² Romani, ubi intellegunt neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri (et jam die vesper erat), ³ adverso colle, sicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amissa loco, Numidæ fusi fugatique: pauci interiere, plerosque velocitas et regio ⁴ hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, ⁵ quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paulatim suos in æquum locum deducit: ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo præmissus erat, festinans, pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat; neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Post-

quam Rutilium consedissee jam, et animo vacuum acceperat, simulque ex Jugurthæ prælio clamorem augeri, veritus, ne legatus, cognita re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam, diffidens virtuti militum, arte statuerat, quo hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit, eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. ¹ Romani ex improvise pulveris vim magnam animadvertunt, nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat; et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari; post, ubi ² æquabilem manere, et, sicuti acies movebatur, magis magisque appropinquare vident, cognita re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore ³ concurritur. Numidæ tantum modo ⁴ remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disiectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt, ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis aut noctis quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephantis quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque ⁵ opere castrorum et prælio fessi lassique erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo, obscura nocte, postquam ⁶ haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes adventarent, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere: et pæne imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur ⁷ pro metu repente gaudium exortum; milites alius alium læti appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt; sua quisque fortia facta ad cælum fert. Quippe res humanæ ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet; adversæ res ⁸ etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. Metellus, in iisdem castris ¹ quatrinduo moratus,

saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in præliis more militiæ donat, universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias: hortatur, 'ad cetera, quæ levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro præda fore.' Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitare, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet, ut sese victus gereret, ² exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat, ibique ³ cogebat exercitum numero hominum amplio-rem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam belli cultorem. Id ⁴ ea gratia eveniebat, quod præter regios equites nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt, neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur; ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi ⁵ videt etiamtum regis animum ferocem esse, bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius libidine geri non posset, præterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere, statuit non præliis neque in acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in Numidiæ loca opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida, ⁶ temere munita aut sine præsidio, capit incenditque; puberes interfici jubet, alia omnia militum prædam esse. ⁷ Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quæ usui forent, affatim præbita; ubicumque res postulabat, præsidium impositum. ⁸ Quæ negotia multo magis, quam prælium male pugnatum ab suis, regem terrebant: quippe cui spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogeatur; et, qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ⁹ ex copia, quod optimum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum plerumque in iisdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse eum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantes repente aggreditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus

profugit ; et Numidæ, ¹⁰ priusquam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos colles discedunt.

LV. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus ; ¹ ut seque et exercitum more majorum gegeret, in adverso loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset ; hostium agro potiretur, Jugurtham, magnificum ex Auli socordia, spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga coegisset habere. Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus ² supplicia decernere ; civitas, trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu, læta agere ; fama de Metello præclara esse. Igitur ³ eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare ; cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret ; meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita ⁴ quo clarior, eo magis anxius erat, neque post insidias Jugurthæ effuso exercitu prædari : ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitabant : exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis quam præda ager vastabatur. ⁵ Duobus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant : ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant ; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, diversi agebant. Eo tempore ⁶ Jugurtha per colles sèqui, tempus aut locum pugnae quærere, qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontes, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere ; modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere, postremo in agmine tentare, ac statim in colles regredi, rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque prælium facere, neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, ¹ urbem magnam et in ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit oppugnare ; ratus, id quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique prælium fore. At ille, ² quæ parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit ; oppidanos hortatur,

‘mœnia defendant;’ additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat. Præterea pollicetur, ³ ‘in tempore semet cum exercitu affore.’ Ita compositis rebus, in loca quam maxime occulta discedit, ac post paulo cognoscit Marium ex itinere ⁴ frumentatum cum paucis eohortibus Siccam missum; quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defeceerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis, in porta pugnam facit: simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, ⁵ ‘uti eohortes ab tergo circumveniant: fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare: si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu atatem acturos.’ Ac ni Marius ⁶ signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidæ agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini, paulisper ab rege ⁷ sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgunt, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

LVII Marius ad Zamam pervenit: id oppidum, in campo situm, magis opere quam natura munitum erat, nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit; legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret; deinde, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur. Neque ea res Numidas terret; ¹ infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: prælium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus ² glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere, ac murum modo suffodere, modo scalis aggredi, eupere prælium in manibus facere. ³ Contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere; sudes, pila, præterea pice et sulphure tædam mixtam ardenti mittere. ⁴ Sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat: nam plerosque jacula tormentis aut manu emissa vulnera-

bant; parique periculo, sed fama impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit: ¹ remissis, qui in præsidio erant, et omnia magis quam prælium expectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere; magna pars vulnerati aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, ² grege facto, locum cepere paulo quam alii editiorem, neque inde maxima vi depelli quiverunt, sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrari: sin Numidæ propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere, et eos maxima vi cædere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus, quum acerrime rem gereret, clamorem hostilem a tergo accepit: dein, converso equo, animadvertit fugam ³ ad se versum fieri; quæ res indicabat populares esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere mittit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque lacrymans per amicitiam perque rem publicam obsecrat, 'ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, nève hostes ⁴ inultos abire sinat.' Ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, quum alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis, in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, ⁵ infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revertitur.

LIX. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, ¹ qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet; portas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit; deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, ut superiore die, murum aggreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit: qui ² in proximo locati fuerant, paulisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito

subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidæ resistere quivissent, ³ ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent. ⁴ Quibus illi freti, non. ut equestri prælio solet, sequi, dein cedere, sed adversis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem : ⁵ ita expeditis peditibus suis hostes pene victos dare.

LX. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, ¹ eo acerrime niti ; neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere : pariterque oppidani agere : ² oppugnare, aut parare omnibus locis : avidius alteri alteros sauciare, quam semet tegere : clamor permixtus hortatione, lætitia, gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad cælum ferri. tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui mœnia defensabant, ubi ³ hostes paulum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti prælium equestre prospectabant : eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modo, modo pavidos animadverteres ; ac sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus, et ea huc et illuc, quasi vitabundi aut jacentes tela. agitare. ⁴ Quod ubi Mario cognitum est (nam is in ea parte curabat), consulto lenius agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare ; pati Numidas sine tumultu regis prælium ⁵ visere. Ita, ⁶ illis studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi murum aggreditur ; et jam scalis egressi milites prope summa ceperant, quum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere ; deinde, ubi ⁷ unæ atque alteræ scalæ comminutæ, qui supersteterant, afflicti sunt ; ceteri quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars vulneribus confecti abeunt. Denique utrimque prælium nox diremit.

LXI. Metellus postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi, ¹ neque Jugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam æstatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit, et in his urbibus, quæ ad se defecerant, satisquo

munitæ loco aut mœnibus erant, præsidia imponit: ceterum exercitum in provinciam, quæ proxima est Numidiæ, hie-
 mandî gratia collocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more
 quieti aut luxuriæ concedit; sed, quoniam armis bellum
 parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, et
 eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilearem,
 qui Romæ cum Jugurtha fuerat,² et inde, vadibus datis,
 clam de Massivæ nece judicium fugerat, quod ei per maxi-
 mam amicitiam maxima copia fallendi erat, multis pollici-
 tationibus aggreditur. Ac primo efficit, uti³ ad se collo-
 quendi gratia occultus veniat: dein fide data, 'si Jugurtham
 vivum aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus
 impunitatem et sua omnia concederet,' facile Numidæ per-
 suadet, quum ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum
 Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium trade-
 retur.

LXII. ¹ Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham
 anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet atque
 lacrymans obtestatur, 'uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti
 Numidarum optime merenti provideat: omnibus præliis
 sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortales captos, occisos,
 regni ôpes comminutas esse: satis sæpe jam et virtutem
 militum et fortunam tentatam: caveat, ne, illo cunctante,
 Numidæ sibi consulant.' His atque talibus aliis ad dedi-
 tionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur² ad imperatorem
 legati, qui 'Jugurtham imperata facturum' dicerent, 'ac
 sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tra-
 dere.' Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hi-
 bernis arcessi jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos
 ducebat, consilium habet. Ita³ more majorum ex consilii
 decreto per legatos 'Jugurthæ imperat argenti pondo du-
 centa millia, elephantos omnes, equorum et armorum ali-
 quantum. Quæ postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet
⁴ 'omnes perfugas vinctos adduci.' Eorum magna pars, ut

jussum erat, adducti; pauci, quum primum deditio cœpit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretanium abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, ⁶ quum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus cœpit flectere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia ⁷ digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis, quum ⁸ modo tædio rerum adversarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, ⁹ quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret, multis magnisque præsiidiis nequidquam perditis, de integro bellum sumit. Et Romæ senatus de provinciis consultus ¹⁰ Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. Per idem tempus Uticæ forte ¹ C. Mario per hostias dis supplicanti ‘magna atque mirabilia portendi’ haruspex dixerat: ‘proinde, quæ animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret; fortunam quam sæpissime experiretur, cuncta prospere eventura.’ At illum jam antea consulatus ingens eupido exagitabat, ad quem capiundum ² præter vetustatem familiæ alia omnia abunde erant, industria, probitas, militiæ magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, libidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus. Sed is natus et ³ omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum ætas militiæ patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Græca facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artes bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, ⁴ facile notus per omnes tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit, semperque ⁵ in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore quam gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is ⁶ ad id locorum talis vir (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est) consulatum appetere non audebat: etiam tum ⁷ alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat

^a Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

LXIV. Igitur ubi Marius haruspiciis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello ¹petundi gratia missionem rogat. Cui quamquam virtus, gloria atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat ²contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum, ³commotus insolita re, mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam monere, 'ne tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse; debere illi res suas satis placere: postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur.' Postquam hæc atque alia talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, 'ubi primum potuisset ⁴per negotia publica, facturum sese, quæ peteret.' Ac postea sæpius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, 'ne festinaret abire; satis mature illum ⁵cum filio suo consulatum petiturum.' Is eo tempore ⁶contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter viginti: quæ res Marium quum pro honore, quem affectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessimis consultoribus, ⁷grassari, neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret: milites, quibus in hibernis præerat, laxiore imperio quam antea habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, criminose, simul et magnifice de bello loqui: 'dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permetteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum: ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiæ superbiæ imperio nimis gauderet.' Quæ omnia illis eo ⁸firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiares corruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. Erat præterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Manastabalis filius, Masinissæ nepos,

quem Micipsa testamento ¹secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus, et ob eam causam mente paulum immutata. ²Cui Metellus petenti, 'more regum uti sellam juxta poneret,' item postea 'custodiæ causa turmam equitum Romanorum,' utrumque negaverat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset; præsidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius ³anxium aggreditur atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum imperatoris cum suo auxilio pœnas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: 'illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissæ nepotem esse; si Jugurtha captus aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiæ sine mora habiturum; id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret.' 'Itaque et illum, et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poseant. Sic ⁵illi a multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione consulatus petebatur: simul ea tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. Interim ¹Jugurtha, postquam, ommissa deditioe, bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum; civitates, quæ ab se defecerant, formidine aut ostentando præmia affectare; communire suos locos; arma, tela, alia, quæ spe pacis amiserat, reficere aut commercari; servitia Romanorum allicere, et eos ipsos, qui in præsidiis erant, pecunia tentare; prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pati, cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, ²quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, præsidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis, neque autem voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: nam vulgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxime Numidarum, ³ingenio mobili,

seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio adversum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, ⁴ in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum præfectum oppidi T. Turpilium Silanum, ⁵ alius alium domos suas invitant: eos omnes præter Turpilium inter epulas obtruncant: postea milites palantes, inermes, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, aggrediuntur. Idem ⁶ plebes facit. ⁷ pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, quis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novæ satis placebant.

LXVII. Romani milites, improvise metu incerti ignarique, ¹ quid potissimum facerent, trepidare: ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant, præsidium hostium: portæ ante clausæ fugam prohibebant: ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis ædificiorum saxa et alia, quæ locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri ² anceps malum, neque a fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse: juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti obtruncari. In ea tanta asperitate, ³ sævissimis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius præfectus unus ex omnibus Italicis intactus profugit. Id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione aut casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integra fama potior fuit, improbus instabilisque videtur.

LXVIII. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagæ actis comperit, paulisper mœstus e conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira et ægritudo permixta sunt, cum maxima cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurimos potest ¹ Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit; et postera die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quandam planitiem, locis paulo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites, fessos itineris magnitudine, et

jam ²abnuentes omnia, docet 'oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, pœnas caperent:.' præterea prædam benigne ostendat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites ³in primo late, pedites quam artissime ire, et signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. Vagenses ubi ¹animum advertere ad se versum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum esse rati, portas clausere: deinde, ubi neque agros vastari. et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, ²alii vulgum effusum oppido cædere. alii ad portas festinare, pars turres capere; ira atque prædæ spes amplius quam lassitudo posse. Ita Vagenses biduum modo ex perfidia ³lætati: civitas magna et opulens cuncta pœnæ aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius, ⁴quem præfectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello causam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque capite pœnas solvit: nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. Per idem tempus Bomilear, ejus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, et ipse cum suspiciens, novas res cupere, ¹ad perniciem ejus dolum quærere, die noctuque fatigare animum. Denique omnia tentando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis, qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare et omnes res exsequi solitus erat, quæ Jugurthæ fesso aut majoribus adstricto superaverant; ex quo illi gloria opesque inventæ. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: 'cetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari' placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager, inultis hostibus, vasta-

retur. ² Is postquam magnitudine facinoris percussus ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impediēbat, Bomilear, simul cupidus incepta patrādi, et timore socii anxius, ne, omisso vetere consilio, novum quæreretur, litteras ad eum per homines fideles mittit, ³ in quīs mollitiem socordiamque viri accusare, testari deos, per quos juravisset, monere, 'ne præmia Metelli in pestem converteret; Jugurthæ exitium adesse; ⁴ ceterum suane an virtute Metelli periret, id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, præmia an cruciatum mallet.'

LXXI. Sed quum hæ litteræ allatæ, forte Nabdalsa ¹ exercito corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi, cognitis Bomilearis verbis, primo cura, deinde, uti ægrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam, ² negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissimi, particeps. ³ Qui postquam allatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus opera aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit: dormiente illo epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit, dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa post paulo experrectus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et rem omnem, uti acta erat, cognovit, primo ⁴ indicem persequi conatus, postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit; dicit 'quæ ipse paravisset facere, perfidia clientis sui præventa:.' lacrymans obtestatur 'per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet.'

LXXII. Ad ea rex, ¹ aliter atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomileare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram oppresserat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque ² post id locorum Jugurthæ dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit: neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere, cives, hostes juxta metuere, circumspectare omnia, et omni strepitu pa-

vescere, ³ alio atque alio loco, sæpe contra decus regium, noctu requiescere, interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis, tumultum facere; ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari.

LXXIII. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilearis ¹ et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus, tanquam ad integrum bellum, cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectione, ² simul et invitum et offensum, sibi parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romæ plebes, ³ litteris, quæ de Metello ac Mario missæ erant, cognitis, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. ⁴ Imperatori nobilitas, quæ antea decori, invidiæ esse: at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat: ceterum in utroque magis studia partium, quam bona aut mala sua moderata. Præterea seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, ⁵ Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum ⁶ res fidesque in manibus sitæ erant, relictis operibus, frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita, percussa nobilitate, ⁷ post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur; et postea populus, a tribuno plebis Manilio Mancino rogatus, 'quem vellet cum Jugurtha bellum gerere,' frequens Marium jussit. Sed senatus paulo ante Metello ⁸ decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

LXXIV. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ¹ ad regem Bocchum profugerant, quum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret. ² varius incertusque agitabat. ³ Neque illi res, neque consilium aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera præfectosque in dies mutare; modo adversum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere; sæpe in fuga, ac post paulo in armis spem habere; dubitare, virtuti an fide popularium minus crede-

ret: ita, quocumque intenderat, res adversæ erant. Sed inter eas moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidæ ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique; dein prælium incipitur. ⁴Qua in parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum; ceteri omnes ejus milites primo congressu pulsî fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum ⁵aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidas in omnibus præliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.

LXXV. Ea fuga Jugurtha, ¹impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri filiorumque ejus multus pueritiæ cultus erat. Quæ postquam ²Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum, in spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrândi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnes asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta ³sarcinis levâri jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem; ceterum utres modo et alia aquæ idonea portari. Præterea cohquirît ex agris, quam plurimum potest ⁴domiti pecoris, eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi, sed pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitimis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, ⁵quam plurimum quisque aquæ portaret: diem locumque, ubi præsto forent, prædicît. Ipse ex flumine, ⁶quam proximam oppido aquam esse supra diximus, jumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde ubi ⁷ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis præceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente cœlo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea commeatus spe amplior, quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique ⁸in nova deditiône, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites ⁹religione pluvia magis usi, eaque

res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dis im mortalibus curæ esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

LXXVI. Sed rex, ¹ nihil jam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, ceteris imperitantem, industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit: neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno die aut una nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratia properare; ceterum prodicionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia per otium et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos prælio intentos, simul oppidum ² et operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque mœnia circumvenit. Deinde locis ³ ex copia maxime idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere, et super aggerem impositis turribus, opus et administros tutari. Contra hæc oppidani festinare, parare: ⁴ prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore præliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti; præda omnis a perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum ⁵ arietibus feriri resque suas ⁶ afflictas vident, aurum atque argentum et alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque et domum et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus pœnas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pendere.

LXXVII. Sed pariter ¹ cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, ² uti præsidium præfectumque eo mitteret: Hamilearem quendam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere, adversum quem neque imperia magistratuum neque leges valerent: ni id festinaret in summo periculo ³ suam salutem, illorum

socios fore.' Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem et postea Romam miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum: deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino Metelloque imperata nave fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quæ petebant, adepti; emissæ eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius præfectus.

LXXVIII. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, ¹quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civiles, navibus in eos locos venisse: ceterum situm inter duas Syrtes, ²quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura: ³quorum proxima terræ præalta sunt; cetera, uti fors tulit, alta, alia in tempestate, vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et sævire ventis cœpit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ. Ejus civitatis ⁴lingua modo conversa connubio Numidarum: legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica, quæ eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

LXXIX. ¹Sed quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleræque ²Africæ imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, ³una specie: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui fines eorum discerneret; quæ res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes sæpe fusæ fugatæque, et alteri alteros aliquantum attriverant, veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius aggredetur, ⁴per inducias sponsionem faciunt, ⁵uti certo die legati domo profisciscerentur: quo in loco inter se obvii

fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur.' Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, ⁶ quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id socordiane an casu acciderit, parum cognovi: ceterum ⁶ solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi per loca æqualia et ⁷ nuda gignentium ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata ora oculosque implere solet: ita, prospectu impedito, morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses ⁸ aliquanto posteriores se vident, et ob rem corruptam domi pœnas metuunt, criminari Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem, denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed quum Pœni aliam conditionem, tantummodo æquam, peterent, ⁹ Græci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, 'ut vel illi, quos fines populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur, vel eadem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros.' Philæni, ¹⁰ conditione probata, seque vitamque suam rei publicæ condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philænis fratribus ¹¹ aras consecravere: aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. Jugurtha postquam, amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ¹ ad Gætulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem ² in unum cogit, ac paulatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Præterea regis Bocchi ³ proximos magnis muneribus et majoribus promissis ad studium sui perducit; quis adjutoribus regem aggressus impellit, uti adversum Romanos bellum incipiat. Id ea gratia ⁴ facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, fœdus et amicitiam petitum: quam rem opportunissimam incepto bello pauci impederant, cæci avaritia, quis omnia, honesta atque inhonesta, vendere mos

erat. Etiam antea ⁶Jugurthæ filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ⁶ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur, quia singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent, sed reges eo amplius. Ita ⁷animus multitudine distrahitur: nulla pro socia obtinet; pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ¹ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt. Ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: 'Romanos injustos. profunda avaritia, communes omnium hostes esse: eandem ²illos causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, libidinem imperitandi, quis omnia regna adversa sint: ³tum sese, paulo ante Carthaginienses, item Persen regem, post, uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore.' His atque aliis talibus dictis, ad Cirtam oppidum ⁴iter constituunt, quod ibi Metellus prædam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat: ita Jugurtha ratus, aut, ⁵capta urbe, operæ pretium fore; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, prælio sese certaturos. Nam ⁶callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere, ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

LXXXII. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti, sæpe jam ¹victo Jugurtha, consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit: ceterum haud procul ab Cirta, castris munitis, reges opperitur; melius esse ratus, cognitis Mauris. quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Roma per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam; nam consulem factum ante acceperat. Quis rebus ²supra bonum atque honestum percussus, neque lacrymas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus nimis molliter ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam ³vertebant, alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse, multi, quod jam parta victoria ex

manibus eriperetur. Nobis satis cognitum est, illum magis honore Marii quam ⁴injuriam suam exercebat, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

LXXXIII. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, et quia ¹stultitiæ videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, ²'ne sine causa hostis populo Romano fieret: habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello esset: quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare: omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum ægerrime desinere: non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse; ³incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo, licere; deponi, quum victores velint. Proinde sibi regnoque suo consuleret, neu florentes res suas cum Jugurthæ perditis misceret.' Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: ⁴'sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthæ fortunarum misereri; ⁵si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura.' Rursus imperator ⁶contra postulata Bocchi nuntios mittit: ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo sæpe ab utroque missis remissisque nuntiis ⁷tempus procedere, et ex Metelli voluntate bellum intantum trahi.

LXXXIV. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, ¹tum vero multus atque ferox instare: singulos modo, modo universos lædere; dictitare ²'sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse;' alia præterea magnifica pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quæ bello ³opus erant, prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia ⁴a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere: præterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerosque militiæ, paucos fama cognitos, accire, et ambiundo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam adversus erat, de

ullo negotio abnuere audebat: ceterum supplementum ¹etiam lætus decreverat; ²quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli usum aut studia vulgi amisurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata: tanta libido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. ³Sese quisque præda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujuscemodi animis trahebant, et eos non paulum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nam postquam, ⁴omnibus quæ postulaverat decretis, milites scribere vult, hortandi causa, simul et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit; deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non iisdem artibus imperium a vobis petere, ¹et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse; dein per ignaviam et superbiam ætatem agere. Sed ²mihi contra ea videtur: nam quo pluris est, universa res publica quam consulatus aut prætura, eo majore cura illam administrari, quam hæc peti, debere. ³Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo vestro beneficio negotii sustineam. Bellum parare simul, et ærario parcere; cogere ad militiam eos, quos ⁴nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantes, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum fortia facta, cognatorum et affinium opes, multæ clientelæ, omnia hæc ⁵præsidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitæ, quas necesse est et virtute et innocentia tutari; nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intellego, Quirites, omnium ora in me conversa esse: æquos bonosque favere, quippe mea bene facta ⁶rei publicæ procedunt; nobilitatem locum invadendi quærere. Quo mihi acrius adnitendum est, ut neque ⁷vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc ætatis a pueritia fui, ut omnes labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quæ ⁸ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti, accepta mercede, dēseram,

non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus⁹ temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem ætatem in optimis artibus egi, bene facere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas ægerrime tulit. Quæso, reputate cum animis vestris,¹⁰ num id mutari melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiæ ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendii, scilicet ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. Ita plerumque evenit, ut, quem vos imperatorem jussistis, is sibi imperatorem alium quærat. Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam consules facti sunt, acta majorum et Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint; ¹¹ præposterii homines; nam gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparete nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. ¹² Quæ illi audire et legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi: quæ illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos existimate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur. Quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existimo, sed ¹³ fortissimum quemque generosissimum. Ac ¹⁴ si jam ex patribus Albinus aut Bestiæ quæri posset, 'mene an illos ex se gigni maluerint,' quid responsuros creditis, nisi, 'sese liberos quam optimos voluisse?' Quod si jure me despiciunt, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cœpit. Invident honori meo; ergo invident labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita ætatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnunt; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Næ illi ¹⁵ falsi sunt, qui diversissimas res pariter expectant, ignaviae voluptatem et præmia

virtutis. Atque etiam, quum apud vos aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt; eorum fortia facta memorando elariores sese putant. ¹⁶ Quod contra est: nam quanto vita illorum præclarius, tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est; neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. ¹⁷ Hujuscæ rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verum, id quod multo præclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi arrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt; scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est, quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam mihi respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. ¹⁸ Sed in maximo vestro beneficio, quum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, ¹⁹ ex animi mei sententia, nulla oratio lædere potest: quippe vera necesse est bene prædicet, falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et maximum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum pœnitendum sit. Non possum, ²⁰ fidei causa imagines, neque triumphos aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona; præterea cicatrices adverso corpore. Hæ sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hæreditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ egomet plurimis laboribus et periculis quæsivi. ²¹ Non sunt composita mea verba; parum id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Græcas didici. parum placebat eas discere, ²² quippe quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. ²³ At illa multo optima rei publicæ doctus sum, hostem ferire, præsidia agitare, nihil

metuerenisi turpem famam,hiemem et æstatem juxta pati,humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego præceptis milites hortabor, neque illos arte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, quum tute per mollitiem agas, ²⁴ exercitum supplicio cogere, id est dominum, non imperatorem esse. Hæc atque talia majores vestri faciendo seque remque publicam celebravere. ²⁵ Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum æmulos contemnit; et omnes honores, non ex merito, sed quasi debitos, a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quæ licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui præclaram: virtutem non reliquere, neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. ²⁶ 'Sordidum me et incultis moribus' aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum quam villicum habeo. Quæ mihi libet confiteri, Quirites, nam ex parente meo, et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire; omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriæ quam divitiarum esse; arma, non supellectilem decori esse. ²⁷ Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod earum æstiment, id semper faciant; ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimæ parti corporis: sudorem, pulverem, et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita: nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum præmia ²⁸ ereptum eunt. Ita injustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessimæ artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil officiunt, rei publicæ innoxia eladi sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poseebant, respondi, pauca de re publica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habete animum, Quirites. ²⁹ Nam quæ ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, om-

nia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, atque superbiam.
³⁰ Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus quam felix; nam magna pars ejus avaritia aut temeritate ducum attrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus ³¹ militaris ætas est, adnitimini mecum, et capessite rem publicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in prælio, ³² consultor idem et socius periculi, vobiscum adero; meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto, diis juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus: quæ si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnes bonos rei publicæ subvenire ³³ decebat. Etenim nemo ignavia immortalis factus est, neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

LXXXVI. ¹ Hujusmodi oratione habita. Marius, postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliisque utilibus naves onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere non more majorum, ² neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque libido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii ³ inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant, quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat, et homini potentiam quærenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua curæ, quippe quæ nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum ⁴ aliquanto majore numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus, paucis diebus ⁵ Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato: nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. Sed consul, expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et ¹ præda onustum proficiscitur; omnia ibi capta militibus donat, dein castella

et oppida natura et viris parum munita aggreditur; prælia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu ² pugnæ adesse, videre fugientes capi aut occidi, fortissimum quemque tutissimum, armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi, gloriam atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium æqualis facta. ³ At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, diversi in locos difficiles abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat, speranti mox effusos hostes invadi posse, ⁴ Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu, laxius licentiusque futuros.

LXXXVIII. Metellus interea Romam profectus, ¹ contra spem suam lætissimis animis excipitur, plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed ² Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter attendere, cognoscere quid boni utrisque aut contra esset, explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias eorum antevenire, nihil apud se remissum neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gætulos et Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris ³ prædas agentes, sæpe aggressus in itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. ⁴ Quæ postquam gloriosa modo, neque belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbes, quæ viris aut loco pro hostibus et adversum se opportunissimæ erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut præsidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut prælio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuntios ad eum sæpe miserat, 'velle populi Romani amicitiam; ⁵ ne quid ab se hostile timeret.' Id simulaveritne, ⁶ quo improvisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

LXXXIX. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire; ¹ partim vi, alia metu aut præmia ostentando, avertere ab hostibus. Ac primo ² mediocria gerebat, existimans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi illum procul abesse, et aliis negotiis intentum ac

cepit, majora et magis aspera ³aggredi tempus visum est. Erat inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine ⁴Capsa. cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham ⁵immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissimi habebantur; muniti adversum hostes non mœnibus modo et armis atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. ⁶Nam, præter oppido propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus, quorum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior; ad hoc natura serpentium. ipsa perniciosa, siti magis quam alia re accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxima cupido invascat, ⁷quum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur, et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque, nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo. atque ea intra oppidum, jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. ⁸Id ibique et in omni Africa, quæ procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte et ferina carne vescebantur, et neque salem neque alia irritamenta gulæ quærebant: cibis illis adversum famem atque sitim, non libidini neque luxuriæ erat.

XC. Igitur ¹consul, omnibus exploratis, credo, dīs fretus (nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidæ pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student, et ²quodcunque natum fuerat, jussu regis in loca munita contulerant; ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam æstatis extremum erat); tamen ³pro rei copia satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus prædæ fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis ⁴agendum attribuit: A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Lares, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet, dicitque ⁵se prædabundum post paucos dies eodem

venturum.' Sic incepto suo occultato. pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. Ceterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item ¹ turmas æqualiter distribuerat. et. ² ex coriis utres uti fierent, curabat: simul et inopiam frumenti lenire. et, ignaris omnibus, parare, quæ mox usui forent. Denique sexto die, quum ad flumen ventum est, maxima vis utrius effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites ³ cibum capere. atque. uti simul cum occasu solis egredierentur. paratos esse jubet, omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum. castris egreditur, ⁴ noctemque totam itinere facto, consedit: idem proxima facit: dein tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumultuosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum millium intervallo, ibique. quam occultissime potest. cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed ubi dies cœpit, et Numidæ, nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi, repente omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, et portas obsidere jubet: deinde ⁵ ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites prædari sinere. ⁶ Quæ postquam oppidani cognovere, res trepidæ, metus ingens. malum improvisum. ad hoc pars civium extra mœnia in hostium potestate, coegere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum, Numidæ puberes interfecti, alii omnes venum dati, præda militibus divisa. ⁷ Id facinus contra jus belli non avaritia neque scelere consulis admissum: sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis; genus hominum mobile, infidum ante, neque beneficio neque metu coërcitum.

XCII. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit, magnus et clarus antea, major et clarior haberi cœpit. ¹ Omnia. non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur; milites, modesto imperio habiti, simul et locupletes, ad cælum ferre; Numidæ magis quam mortalem

timere; postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere illi aut mentem divinam esse, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed consul, ubi ² ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura, deserta propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitus, ac ple-risque ³ exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha, quod Jugurthæ Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat ⁴ inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto; nam omnia natura, velut opere atque consulto, præcepit. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res ⁵ forte, quam consilio, melius gesta. ⁶ Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquæ; aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus importunus; iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque præcisum. Vineæ cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur; nam quum eæ paulo processe-rant, igni aut lapidibus corrumpebantur: ⁷ milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare: optimus quisque cadere aut sauciari, ceteris metus augeri.

XCIII. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumptis, ¹ anxius trahere cum animo suo, omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua sæpe prospere usus fuerat. Quæ quum multos dies noctesque ² æstuans agigaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris ³ aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod aversum præliantibus erat, animum advertit inter saxa repentes cochleas: quarum quum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legendi paulatim prope ad summum montis egressus est.

Ubi postquam ⁴ solitudinem intellexit, more humani ingenii cupido difficilia faciundi animum vertit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paululum ⁵ modo prona. dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert: cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus, castelli planitiem perscribit, quod cuncti Numidæ intenti præliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, ⁶ non temere, uti escenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet; ⁷ hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse escenderat, castellum tentet; pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, ⁸ promissa ejus cognitum, ex præsentibus misit; quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nuntiavere. Consulis animus tamen ⁹ paulum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit, et cum his, ¹⁰ præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones, omnesque Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

XCIV. Sed ubi ex præcepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus ad locum ¹ pergit. Ceterum illi, qui ascensuri erant, prædocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, ² uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii et scuta, verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul, et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus ³ saxa, et si quæ vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat. quibus allevati milites facilius escenderent: interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu: ubi paulo asperior ascensus erat, singulos præ se inermes mittere. deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi: quæ dubia nisu videbantur, potissimus tentare, ac sæpius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam addere. Igitur, diu multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt,

‘desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, adversum hostes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nuntiis, quæ Ligus egerat, cognovit, quamquam toto die ⁵intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites, et ipse extra vineas egressus, ⁶testudine acta succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidæ, sæpe antea vineis Romanorum subversis, item incensis, non castelli mœnibus sese tutabantur; sed pro muro dies noctesque ⁷agitare, maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare, militibus nostris Jugurthæ servitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus, Romanis hostibusque, prælio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo ⁸signa canere: ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare; dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriæ certantes murum petere, neque quemquam omnium præda morari. ⁹Sic forte correctæ Marii temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

XCV. Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quæstor cum magno equitatu in castra venit: ¹quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romæ relictus erat. Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est, de natura cultusque ejus paucis dicere: neque enim alio loco de Sullæ rebus dicturi sumus, et ²L. Sisenna optime et diligentissime omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriæ nobilis fuit, familia prope jam extincta ³majorum ignavia: litteris Græcis ac Latinis juxta, atque doctissime, eruditus; animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriæ cupidior, otio luxurioso esse; tamen ab negotiis nunquam voluptas remorata, ⁴nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli: facundus,

callidus, et amicitia facilis: ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis: multarum rerum ac maxime pecuniæ largitor. Atque illi felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, nunquam ⁵ super industriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavere, fortior an felicior esset: nam, postea quæ fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis, an pigeat disserere.

XCVI. Igitur Sulla, ut supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, solertissimus omnium ¹ in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benigne appellare; multis rogantibus, aliis ² per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea properantius, quam æs mutuum, reddere, ipse ab nullo repetere, ³ magis id laborare, ut illi quam plurimi deberent; joca atque seria cum humillimis agere; in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse, neque interim, ⁴ quod prava ambitio solet, consulis aut cujusquam boni famam lædere, tantummodo neque consilio neque manu priorem alium pati, plerosque antevenire. Quis rebus et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utiles, simul et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuntios mittit. ¹ 'quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret; prælii faciendi tempus adesse.' ² Quem ubi cunctari accepit, et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere, rursus, uti antea, proximos ejus donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiæ partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo præmio illectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decima parte ³ die reliqua, invadunt, rati noctem, quæ jam aderat, et victis sibi munimento fore, et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant; contra

Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant; et, priusquam ⁴ exercitus aut instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gætuli, non acie neque ullo more prælii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt. Qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutes memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientes alios ab hostibus defensabant: pars equos ⁵ ascendere, obviam ire hostibus; pugna latrocinio magis quam prælio similis fieri; sine signis, sine ordinibus, equites peditesque permixti cedere alios, alios obtruncare; multos, contra adversos acerrime pugnantes, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi erant. Denique ⁶ Romani veteres, novique, et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus conjunxerat, orbes facere, atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. Neque in eo ¹ tam aspero negotio Marius territus, aut magis quam antea demisso animo fuit; sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis quam familiarissimis paraverat, vagari passim, ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostes, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumptus erat, quum tamen barbari ² nihil remittere, atque, uti reges præceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ³ ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, colles duos propinquos inter se occupat, quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquæ magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus et præceps pauca munimenta quærebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet: ipse paulatim dispersos milites,

neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit, dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, prælio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, ⁴effusi consedere. Dein erebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari more suo lætari, exsultare, ⁵strepere vocibus, et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugere, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis, ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu, magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. Plurimum vero Marius ¹imperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi jubet; ²ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere: deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus et paulo ante somno captis, de improvviso vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnes signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gætuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quidquam poterant: ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, ³nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, formido quasi vecordia cœperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique: arma et signa militaria pleraque capta; pluresque eo prælio quam omnibus superioribus interempti: nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. Dein Marius, uti cœperat, in hiberna proficiscitur, quæ propter com meatum in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat. Neque tamen victoria socors aut insolens factus, sed, pariter ac in conspectu hostium, ¹quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu ²apud dextimos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, præterea cohortes Ligurum curabat; primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. ³Perfugæ, minime cari et regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant. Simul consul, ⁴quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere, apud

omnes adesse, laudare et increpare merentes. Ipse armatus intentusque, ^a item milites cogeat; neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire, ^a excubitus in porta cohortes ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxilios mittere, præterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare: vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentia futurum, quæ imperavisset, quam uti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius illoque aliisque temporibus Jugurthini ⁷ belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coërcerat: quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant, pars, quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam et alia, quæ ceteri miseras vocant, voluptati habuisset: nisi tamen res publica pariter ac sævissimo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. Igitur quarto denique die, haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores ¹ citi sese ostendunt, quare hostes adesse intellegitur. Sed quia diversi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte, atque omnes idem significabant, consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, adversum omnia paratus ibidem opperitur. Ita ² Jugurtham spes frustrata. qui copias in quatuor partes distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus æque aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis, ipse alique Mauros invadunt; ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites præliantur, ³ Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos ⁴ agebat. quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis erat. Dein Numida. cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convertit: ibi Latine (nam apud Numaniam loqui didicerat) exclamat, 'nostros frustra pugnare; paulo ante Marium sua manu interfectum:' simul gladium

sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, satis impigrie occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. ⁵ Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuntii terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere, et in percussos Romanos acrius incedere. Jamque ⁶ paulum ab fuga aberant, quum Sulla, profligatis iis, quos adversum ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avertitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ⁷ ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, accurrit ⁸ auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes jam undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, capi; equi atque viri ⁹ afflicti, ac multi, vulneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. ¹ Postea loci consul, haud dubie jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo ² post diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, 'duos quam fidissimos ad eum mitteret: velle de suo et de populi Romani commodo cum iis disserere.' Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. ³ Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere, uti ingenium aut aversum flecterent, aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiæ, non ætati, a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujusmodi locutus:

"Rex Bocche, magna nobis lætitia est, quum ⁴ te talem virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem quam bellum malles; neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te ⁵ errantem et illum sceleratissimum

persequi. Ad hoc populo Romano jam a principio melius visum, amicos quam servos quærere: tutiusque ⁶ rati, volentibus quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostra amicitia: primum quod ⁷ procul absumus, in quo offensæ minimum, gratia par, ac si prope adessemus: dein, quod parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset: profecto ex populo Romano ⁸ ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpessus es. Sed quoniam humanarum rerum Fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuisse et vim et gratiam nostram te experiri, nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque, uti cœpisti, perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, ⁹ quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, nunquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum esse; nam, bello quid valeat, tute scis."

Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit: 'Se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse: nam Numidiæ partem, ¹⁰ unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli suam factam: eam vastari a Mario pati nequivisse: præterea, missis antea Romam legatis, ¹¹ repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum.' Dein, ¹² copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullæ et Manlii, metuens id, quod parabatur, donis corruerat.

CIII. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus proficiscitur ¹ in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnes præsidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quæ sibi duobus præliis ² venerant, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad

Marium, ac dein, ³ si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet; agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deinde in itinere a Gætulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidī, sine decore ad Sullam profugiunt, quem consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non ⁴ pro vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed accurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiæ falsam, et Sullam, ob munificentiam in sese, amicum rati. Nam etiamtum ⁵ largitio multis ignota erat; munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens; dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quæstori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem ⁶ regis sui, et alia, quæ aut utilia, aut benevolentia esse credebant, oratione extollunt: dein, Sulla omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Mariū, item apud senatum, verba facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperiantur.

CIV. ¹ Marius postquam, confecto negotio, quo intenderat, Cirtam redit, de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet, item L. Bellienum prætorem Utica, præterea omnes undique senatorii ordinis; quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab consule, interea induciæ postulabantur. ² Ea Sullæ et plerisque placere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ et mobiles semper in adversa mutantur. Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus, tres Romam profecti, cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui quæstor ³ stipendium in Africam portaverat: duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus quum cetera, tum maxime benignitatem et studium Sullæ libens accepit. Romæ legatis ejus, ⁴ postquam ⁵ errasse regem, et Jugurthæ scelere lapsum, deprecati sunt, amicitiam et fœdus petentibus hoc modo respondetur: "Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii

et injuriæ memor esse solet: ceterum Boccho. quoniam pœnitet, ⁶ delicti gratiam facit: fœdus et amicitia dabuntur, quum meruerit."

CV. Quis rebus cognitis. Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, 'uti Sullam ad se mitteret, ¹ ejus arbitrato de communibus negotiis consuleretur.' Is missus cum præsidio equitum atque peditum, ² funditorum Belearium: præterea iere sagittarii et ³ cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa; neque his secus atque aliis armis adversum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repente in campis patentibus ⁴ cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit; qui temere et effuse euntes Sullæ aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero, et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur ⁵ se quisque expedire, arma atque tela tentare, intendere: timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior. quippe victoribus, et adversum eos, quos sæpe vicerant. Interim equites exploratum præmissi, rem, uti erat. quietam nuntiant.

CVI. Volux adveniens quæstorem appellat dicitque 'se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, ¹ et præsidio missum.' Deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus ² incerto vultu, pavens ad Sullam accurrit, dicitque 'sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse.' simul, 'uti noctu clam secum profugeret,' rogat atque hortatur. Ille ³ animo feroci negat 'se totiens fusum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset. mansurum potius, quam proditis, quos ducebat. turpi fuga incertæ ac forsitan post paulo morbo interituræ vitæ parceret.' Ceterum ab eodem monitus, 'uti noctu proficiscerentur,' consilium approbat: ac statim 'milites ⁴ cœnatos esse, in castris ignes quam creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi' jubet. Jamque nocturno

itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, quum equites Mauri nuntiant Jugurtham circiter duum millium intervallo ante eos consedissee. Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere se proditos a Voluce et insidiis circumventos: ac ⁵ fuere, qui dicerent manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existimabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet. Suos hortatur, 'uti fortem animum gererent: sæpe ante paucis strenuis adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum: ¹ quanto sibi in prælio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere. in maximo metu nudum et cæcum corpus ad hostes vertere.' Deinde Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem maximum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiæ Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire jubet. ² Ille lacrymans orare, 'ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Jugurthæ, ³ cui, videlicet speculanti, iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterum, quoniam ⁴ neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, credere illum nihil palam ausurum, quum ipse filius testis adesset: ⁵ quare optimum factu videri, per media ejus castra palam transire: sese, vel præmissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum.' Ea res, ⁶ ut in tali negotio, probata: ac statim profecti, quia de improvviso ⁷ acciderant, dubio atque hæsitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum est.

CVIII. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, ¹ multum et familiariter agebat; præmissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia: præterea Dabar, Massugradæ filius, ex gente Masinissæ, ceterum materno genere impar (nam pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat), Mauro ob ingenii

multa bona carus acceptusque. ² Quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis multis ante tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nuntiatum mittit, 'paratum sese facere, quæ populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse delegeret; ³ consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere: 'neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret; quo res communis licentius gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse.' Sed ego comperior Bocchum ⁴ magis Punica fide, quam ob ea, quæ prædicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis attinuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet: ⁵ libidinem adversum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

CIX. Igitur Sulla respondit, ¹ 'pauca coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occulte, aut nullo aut quam paucissimis præsentibus;' simul edocet, quæ sibi responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerat, congressi, dicit 'se missum a consule venisse ² quæsitum ab eo, pacem an bellum agitaturus foret.' Tum rex, uti præceptum fuerat, 'post diem decimum redire' jubet; ³ 'ac nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum:' dein ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occulte arcessitur: ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur; præterea Dabar internuntius, ⁴ sanctus vir et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit:

CX. ¹ " Nunquam ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maximus in hac terra et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et, mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. ² Id imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego lætor: fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando amicitiae tuæ, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo libet, sume, utere: et, quoad vives, ³ nunquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit: denique nihil, me

sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego existimo, regem armis quam munificentia vinci minus ¹flagitiosum est. Ceterum de re publica vestra, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum unquam volui: fines meos adversum armatos armis tutatus sum. ²Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet: gerite quod vultis cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulu-cham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque id intrare Jugurtham sinam. Præterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice, de pace et ¹de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefecit, ²'quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros; faciundum aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua retulisse videretur. ³Id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthæ copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, uti illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, fœdus, Numidiæ partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultro adventuram.' Rex primo ⁴'negitare: 'affinitatem, cognationem, præterea fœdus intervenisse: ad hoc metuere, ne, fluxa fide usus, popularium animos averteret, quis et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi erant.' Denique sæpius fatigatus, lenitur, et ex voluntate Sullæ 'omnia se facturum' promittit. Ceterum ⁵ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissimus, quæ utilia visa, constituunt. Ita, composito dolo, digrediuntur.

CXII. At rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthæ legatum, appellat, dicitque ¹'sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse conditionibus bellum poni: quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret.' Ille lætus in castra Jugurthæ venit. Deinde, ab illo ²cuncta edoctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei denuntiat 'Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere, sed Mario parum

confidere: sæpe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. Ceterum Bocchus, ³ si ambobus consultum, et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus, quasi de pace, in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet. Quum talem virum in potestatem habuisset, tum fore, uti jussu senatus populique Romani fœdus fieret: 'neque hominem nobilem, non sua ignavia sed ob rem publicam in hostium potestate, relictum iri.'

CXIII. Hæc Maurus ¹ secum ipse diu volvebat tandem promisit: ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus: sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi adversæ. Postea, tempore et loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthæ legatum appellare, ² benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri: illi pariter læti, ac spei bonæ pleni esse. Sed nocte ea, quæ proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis, ac statim. immutata voluntate, remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agita-visse, vultu corporis pariter atque animo varius: ³ quæ scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam arcessi jubet, et ⁴ ex ejus sententia Numidæ insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nuntiatum est Jugurtham haud procul abesse; cum paucis amicis et quæstore nostro, quasi obviis honoris causa, procedit in tumultum facillimum visu ⁵ insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat, accedit; ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obruncati: Jugurtha Sullæ vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

CXIV. ¹ Per idem tempus adversum Gallos, ab ducibus nostris Q. Cæpione et Cn. Manlio male pugnatum: quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. ² Illique et inde usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere: 'alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro

gloria, certare.' Sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et Jugurtham Romam vinctum adduci nuntiatum est, Marius ³ consul absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia: ⁴isque Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. ⁵ Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ.

EXPLANATORY NOTES
ON
THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

NOTES

ON THE

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE.

I.—1. *Omnes*. Many editions have *omnis*, an old form of the Acc. pl. of certain words. § 12, Obs. 1. Arrange, *Decet omnes homines, qui, &c.*: — *niti summa ope*, “to strive with all their might:” — *veluli pecora*, scil., *vitam transeunt*, “just as cattle do.” See An. Gr. 355: — *prona*, “bending down,” in opposition to the erect gait of man — *os sublime—erectos ad sidera vultus*; Ovid Met. I., 85, 86. — **2.** *Animi imperio . . . magis utimur*, lit., “We use more the empire (governing power) of the mind, the servitude of the body.” *Imperio* and *servitio* are both governed by *utimur*; and *animi* and *corporis* governed by them respectively, are in the genitive subjective. § 106, Obs. 1. The meaning is, “In ruling, directing, managing,” &c., we use the mind more than the body; in labor or carrying into effect, we use the body “more than the mind:” — *alterum—alterum*, “the one,” scil., the empire of the mind, “the other,” scil., the servitude of the body: — *dis*, contracted for *diis*. § 10, Exc. 5. 2d. — **3.** *Quo mihi rectius videtur*, “Wherefore (i. e., on this account) it appears to me better:” — *memoriam nostri*, “the memory (or remembrance) of ourselves.” *Memoriam nostram*, would mean “our faculty of memory,” but this distinction is not always observed: — *quam maxime longam*, an unusual periphrasis for *quam longissimam*, “as lasting as possible.” — **4.** *Fluxa*, “Fleeting,” “transitory,” is applied to *gloria divitiarum*; *fragilis*, “frail,” “perishable,” “easily destroyed,” more properly to *gloria formæ*: — *certamen*, “a controversy:” — *vine corporis an* = *utrum vi corporis an*, an indirect question. § 140, 5. Note: — *res militaris magis procederet*, “a military enterprise prospered more.” — **5.** *Consulto*, “Of consultation:” — *mature facto*, “of acting speedily.”—Verbal nouns governed by *opus*. § 118, R. xxii.: —

Utrumque, &c., "Each of the two (viz., *animus* and *corpus*), defective by itself, needs aid, the one from the other."

II.—1. *In terris*, "In all countries,"—"in the world:" — *pars—alii* (same as *alii—alii*), "some—others," § 98, Obs. 12, distributing *reges diversi*, § 97, Obs. 5: — *exercebant*, "cultivated." — 2. *Postea vero quam* = *postquam vero*, "But after that:" — *Cyrus*, scil., *Cyrus* the elder, king of Persia: — *habere*, "to esteem," "to regard:" after *libidinem dominandi*, supply *esse*; and after *gloriam*, supply *esse* or *sitam esse*: — *periculo atque negotiis*, "in danger and in difficulties." — 3. *Quod si*, "If however:" — *animi virtus*, "vigor of mind;" "mental power:" — *sese haberent*, lit., "would have themselves," i. e., "would be;"—similar to the Greek εἶ ἑξει, scil., εἰαυτόν, "he is well," lit., "he has himself well." — 4. *Neque cerneret aliud alio ferri*, "Nor would you see one thing carried in one direction, and another in another." § 98, Obs. 12. For this use of the verb in the second person singular, so common in Sallust, see § 48, Note 1: — *misceri*, "thrown into confusion." — 5. *Ad optimum quemque a minus bono*, "From the less worthy to the most deserving," lit., "to every one in proportion as he is better than others." Such is the force of *quisque* with the superlative. — 6. *Quæ homines arant*, &c., lit., "Whatever men plough," i. e., "do in ploughing or agriculture,"—a mode of expression very unusual: — *virtuti omnia parent*, "all things depend on good conduct." — 7. *Sicuti peregrinantes*, "Like foreign travellers," scil., taking but little interest in any thing: — *juxta*, "alike," "equally inglorious:" — *quoniam de utraque siletur*, "since no mention is made of either." — 8. *Verum enimvero*, "But truly:" — *præclari facinoris aut artis bonæ*, "of some illustrious deed, or honorable profession." — 9. *Rerum*, "Of occupations:" — *aliud alii iter*, "one course to one, and another course to another." See above Note 4, with reference.

III.—1. *Bene facere*, &c., subject of *est*. § 144, R. lvi.: — *pulchrum*. § 98, Obs. 6: — *rei publicæ*. § 112, R. xvii.: — *haud absurdum est*, "is by no means inglorious," i. e., "is highly commendable,"—"is well worthy of a man." *Haud* is a negative strongly intensive: — *clarum fieri licet*, i. e., *homini licet se clarum fieri*. § 103, Obs. 7. — 2. *Mihi quidem*, "To me at least:" — *res gestas scribere* (subject of *videtur*), "to write a history:" — *dehinc* (here corresponding to *primum* above), "in the next place." Seldom used in this

sense—*deinde* is the common term. — 3. *Quia plerique quæ delicta reprehendēis*, &c., “Because many persons think that those things which you may have censured as faults, have been censured (*dicta*, lit., “uttered,” “spoken”) from malevolence and envy.” See above Ch. II., 4, second ref. — 4. *Supra ea*, supply thus, *quæ putat esse supra ea*, “What he considers to be beyond these.” — 5. *Studio . . . latus sum*, “By inclination was led to (engage in) public affairs,”—“to apply for office:” — *ibique*, “and in that course.” — 6. *Insolens malarum artium*, “Unaccustomed to,—unacquainted with—wicked schemes,” § 107, R. ix: — *ambitione corrupta tenebatur*, “was corrupted and held fast by ambition,” lit., “being corrupted by ambition was held fast.” This he gives as the reason why he did not at once abandon such a course. — 7. *Ac me . . . vexabat*, “Yet the pursuit of honor (i. e., of office) harassed me with the same abuse (ill-fame) and odium, with which it harassed others,” i. e., “subjected me to the same abuse and odium to which it subjected others.” The reading which makes *cadem*, *qua*, *fama*, and *invidia*, in the nominative, instead of the ablative as here, is spiritless and inferior to the text here adopted.

IV.—1. *Mihi reliquam ætatem*, “That the rest of my life.” For the dative *mihi* here, and *mihi animus* below, see § 110, Obs. 1 and 2: — *bonum otium conterere*, “to waste my valuable leisure.” — 2. *Servilibus officiis*, Abl. in apposition with *agrum colendo*, and *venando*, “Servile employments.” This must be understood relatively; for the occupations of agriculture and the chase were by many among the Romans regarded as highly honorable. But Sallust here calls them “servile” in comparison with the task he had laid out for himself, to write the history of the Roman people, and requiring more the *servitium corporis*, than the *imperium animi*, Ch. I., 2. — 3. *Sed a quo incepto*, &c., “But having returned to the same undertaking and studies from which, &c.” *Eodem*, adv., is here equivalent to *eidem incepto*, *studioque*, and hence these words, in translating, are to be omitted after the relative. § 99, Obs. 1. 2d: — *carptim*, “in detached parts.” — 4. *De . . . paucis absolvam*, “I will relate in a few words [briefly] (the particulars) concerning:” — *id facinus*, “that daring transaction.” — 5. *Cujus hominis*, “Of this man.” § 99, Obs. 8.

V.—1. *Lucius Catilina*. To the history of this conspiracy, Sallust here prefixes a general description of the principal actor. Lucius Sergius Catiline was a patrician of the *gens Sergia*, a family of great

antiquity, to which belonged some names distinguished in Roman history. He was born B. C. 109, and was of course three years the senior of Cicero, who was born B. C. 106. — 2. *Vi-ingenio*. § 106, R. vii.: — *ibique*, “and in these.” — 3. *Patiens inediae*, “Capable of enduring hunger.” § 107, R. ix. *Patiens inedia* means, “actually enduring hunger.” — 4. *Cujus rei libet*, by tmesis for *cujuslibet rei*, “Of any thing he pleased:” — *simulator* means one who pretends to be what he is not;—*dissimulator* means one who conceals what he really is: — *satis eloquentiæ*, scil., *fuit illi*, “he possessed eloquence enough.” § 112, R. ii., and § 135, R. xvi. — 5. *Vastus animus*, “His insatiable spirit.” — 6. *Post dominationem Lucii Sullæ*, “Ever since the despotic rule of Lucius Sulla.” Lucius Sulla was a Roman of patrician rank, a brave soldier, an able general, but a monster of cruelty. He served first in the Jugurthine war under Marius, who became jealous of his merits. This originated a quarrel between them which afterwards produced the most disastrous results, and involved Italy in a destructive civil war. Having put an end to the first Mithridatic war, and burning with desire to be revenged on Marius and his adherents, who had cruelly butchered vast numbers of his friends in Rome, Sulla entered Italy, defeated the Marian party in several battles, and led his army to Rome, of which he soon made himself master. But dreadful as had been the massacres of Marius and Cinna, the manner in which Sulla, though moderate at first, made use of his victory in the end, filled Italy with horrors even more appalling than any they had yet witnessed. At Rome especially, where he seemed to act as a perfect tyrant, there was no limit to his cruelty. About 8,000 Samnite captives were murdered in the Circus; 46 consulars, prætorians, and ædiles—and 200 senators were slain; 1,600 equites were proscribed and destroyed, and 150,000 citizens perished. In these scenes of cruelty and bloodshed, Catiline acted a conspicuous part, and was thus trained for the crimes he afterwards committed. After glutting his vengeance with the blood of thousands, Sulla was appointed dictator; and though in this situation he reformed some abuses, restored the ancient laws, and enacted some new ones that were salutary and beneficial, yet tyranny marked his whole course, and rendered his administration a scene of terror by his personal enmities and insufferable despotism. To the surprise of all, after three years he resigned the dictatorship, retired to Puteoli, and ended a miserable privacy by a miserable death, B. C. 78, in the sixtieth year of his age. See Jug. Ch. XCV. — 7. *In dies*, “Day by

day:" — *inopia rei familiaris*, "by poverty," lit., "by want of property:" — *quæ utraque his artibus auxerat*, "both of which he had increased by these practices;" viz., his poverty by extravagance, and his consciousness of guilt, by the crimes he committed: — *quæ utraque*, neuter and plural, though referring to feminine antecedents on the principle stated § 98, Obs. 3. See also § 99, Obs. 6. — 8. *Quos* (scil., *mores*)—*vexabant*, "Which evils the very worst and opposite to each other (§ 28, Obs. 5.) luxury and avarice kept in agitation (excited)." — 9. *Res ipsa hortari videtur*, "The subject itself seems to urge:" — *repetere supra*, "to begin farther back." After such verbs as *hortor*, the subjunctive (*ut repetam*, "that I should begin") is the ordinary construction. § 145, Obs. 5, 3d. *Ac* connects *repetere* and *disserere*, and the latter has for its objects *instituta*, and the clauses beginning with *quomodo*, *quantam*, and *ut*.

VI.—In this and the following Chapters (6—13), Sallust describes the transition from the stern manners, warlike energy, and domestic peace of the Ancient Romans, to the corruption prevalent in the time of Catiline, consisting chiefly in extravagance, avarice, oppression, and the love of dominion. — 1. *Accipi*, "Have heard." The early history of Rome is involved in much obscurity. Much of it is traditionary, and, to a great extent, fabulous. Of this character is all that is here said respecting the *Trojani*. See Niebuhr's Roman History, Vol. I., 176, &c. — 2. *Aborigines*. The nation which, previous to historical record, descended from the Apennines, and, advancing from Carseoli and Reate, drove out the Siculi. From this ancient race, blended with a remnant of the Siculi, descended the later Latin nation. — 3. *Hi*, "These," scil., the Trojans and Aborigines: — *una*, plural with *mania*. § 24, Obs. 3: — *alius alio more viventes*. § 98, Obs. 11. *Alius*, in the singular, is distributive of *hi*. § 98, Exc. 4: — *Est* has properly for its subject the clause *quam facile coaluerint*. — 4. *Res eorum*, i. e., *Romanorum* = *Romana res*, "Their state:" — *aucta*, connected by Zeugma with *civibus*, *moribus*, *agris*; and rendered with them respectively "increased," "improved," "enlarged." § 150, 1, 2d. — 5. *Tentare*. This, as well as the following, is the historical infinitive = *tentabant*, § 144, Obs. 6: — *pauci ex amicis*, § 107, Obs. 8: — *amicis auxilio esse*, § 114, R. xix. — 6. *Portabant*. *Ferre* is more common with *auxilium* than *portare*. — 7. *Imperium . . . habebant*, "They had a government regulated by laws—the name (or form) of the government monarchical," i. e.,

"Their government was a monarchy in name, but regulated by laws:" — *rei publicæ*. § 112, Obs. 5, 1st. — 8. *Conservanda libertatis fuerat*, "Had tended to the preservation of liberty." The construction of a noun with the gerundive in the genitive after *esse*, is often used thus, without a governing word, to express the design or tendency of a thing. § 147, Obs. 9: — *dominationem*, "tyranny:" — *convertit* (used intransitively, or supply *sese*), "had turned." § 44, iii., 3: — *binos imperatores*, "two magistrates (scil., consuls) each year." § 24, 11: — *insolescere*, "grow haughty."

VII.—1. *Sed ea tempestate*. *Sed* here denotes transition merely, not opposition, and may be rendered "Now:" — *cæpere . . . quisque*, "they began each," &c.; *quisque*, singular, is distributive of the plural subject of *cæpere*. § 98, Exc. 4: — *in promptu habere*, "to have in readiness," "to bring into action," "to make use of." — 2. *Mali*. § 120, Obs. 1. *Boni* here means "men of talent and character," opposed to *mali*, "men of inferior talents and character." — 3. *Adepta libertate*. *Adepta* in the ablative is here used passively, but may be rendered the same as the active form *adepta libertatem*. § 72, Obs. 2. — 4. *Juventus . . . patiens erat—discebat—habebant*. § 102, Obs. 4: — *libidinem habebant*, "took pleasure." — 5. *Gloriæ certamen*, "the contest for glory:" — *sic*, "accordingly:" — *eas divitias, eam bonam famam*, &c. *Eas* and *eam*, "this," both relating to the proposition *sic . . . properabat*, instead of the neuter gender (§ 98, Obs. 7), take, by attraction, the gender and number of the explanatory nouns following, *esse* being understood. § 99, Obs. 4. — 6. *Fuderit—ceperit*. § 140, 5. So also *quantum creverit* above: — *ni ea res*, &c., "were it not that such a course would draw me off too far from my subject."

VIII.—1. *Ea*, scil., *fortuna*: — *ex libidine*, "from caprice:" — *celebrat obscuratque*, "renders famous, and sinks into obscurity:" — *aliquanto*, "somewhat," "considerably." § 132, R. xliii. — 2. *Scriptorum magna ingenia*, "Writers of great genius;" by Hypallagé for *Scriptores magni ingenii*: — *pro maximis*, "as though they were—as equal to—the greatest." — 3. *Ea fecere*, "Performed them," scil., *facta*: — *quantum ea verbis*, &c., "as men of distinguished talents could extol these in their writings," lit., "by words." Instead of *ea*, scil., *facta*, Cortius has *eam*, scil., *virtutem*. — 4. *Ea copia*, "That advantage:" — *prudenter quisque*, &c., "the more intelligent

a person was, the more was he engaged in business." § 98, Obs. 13. — 5. *Optimus quisque* = *omnis bonus*, "Every good man," or, "the best men." § 98, Obs. 13. — 6. *Facere quam dicere*; *magis* before *quam* is contained in *malebat* = *magis volebat*: — *quam ipse*, &c. Arrange and supply thus, *quam* (*se*) *ipse* (= *se ipsum*, § 98, Exc. 5.) *narrare (bene facta) aliorum*.

IX.—1. *Igitur*. This conjunction connects what follows with Ch. VII., as Ch. VIII. is a sort of digression: — *jus bonumque*, "justice and probity:" — *non legibus*, &c., "not more by law than by nature," i. e., natural disposition. — 2. *Jurgia, discordias*, &c. These terms denote domestic and civil contentions which were common among the Romans in the times of Catiline, but which had no place among them at an early day, except against their enemies. — 3. *In suppliciis deorum*, "In the worship of the gods." *Supplicium* denotes properly "a bending or kneeling down," either as a suppliant, or to receive punishment; hence its apparently unconnected meanings, "supplication," and "punishment." — 4. *Seque remque publicam* (more commonly, *et se et rem publicam*) *curabant*, "They regulated both themselves and the state," i. e., both their private and public affairs. — 5. *Quarum rerum*, "Of these things." § 99, Obs. 8: — *vindicatum est*, "punishment was inflicted:" — *contra imperium*, "contrary to orders:" — *tardius*, "too slowly." § 120, Obs. 5. — 6. *Quam qui*, i. e., *quam in eos qui*: — *loco cedere*, "to desert their post." — 7. *Beneficiis quam metu*: before *quam* supply *magis*: — *et accepta injuria*, "and when they had received an injury." § 146, Obs. 9: — *ignoscere quam persequi malebant*, "they were more inclined to pardon than to revenge it." See Ch. VIII., 6. After *persequi* supply *eam*, scil., *injuriam*.

X.—1. *Reges magni*, such as Philip, Perses, Antiochus, Jugurtha, Mithridates, &c.: — *feræ nationes*, referring probably to the Gauls and Britons: — *populi ingentes*, "powerful states." — 2. *Carthago*, "Carthage,"—a large commercial city in Africa, situate about twelve miles from the place where Tunis now stands—was for a long time the rival of Rome. Its early history, like that of Rome, is involved in uncertainty. It is said that Dido, to avoid her brother Pygmalion, who had treacherously killed her husband Sichæus to obtain possession of his wealth, fled by sea from Tyre and came into Africa, where she planted a colony and founded this city, B. C. 878, more than 100

years before the building of Rome. It soon became wealthy and powerful. The people were called by the Romans *Pœni* (Phœnicians), and the wars they waged with the Romans for dominion are known in history as the Punic wars. They were three in number and lasted with intervals 118 years from B. C. 264 to 146. The city was at last taken and destroyed by Scipio, B. C. 146. It was twenty-three miles in circumference, and when set fire to by the Romans, it burned incessantly for seventeen days. — 3. *Qui labores*, &c. Arrange, *otium (et) divitiæ, optandæ* (§ 98, Obs. 4.) *aliis* (§ 126, Obs. 3.) *fuere oneri miseræque his* (§ 114, R. xix.) *qui facile toleraverant*, &c. — 4. *Ea* (plural referring to *cupido pecuniæ* and *cupido imperii*, avarice and ambition, § 98, Obs. 3.) *fuere quasi materies*. — 5. *Aliud—aliud*, "One thing,—another:" — *non ex re, sed ex comodo*, "not according to their worth, but from convenience:" — *magis que (bonum) vultum*, &c., "and to preserve a fair exterior rather than an honest heart." — 6. *Crescere*, "Increased:" — *vindicari*, "were punished:" historical infinitives. § 101, Obs. 6: — *invasit*, "had spread abroad." § 44, iii., 3. With *immutata* and *factum* supply *est*.

XI.—1. *Quod vitium*, scil., *ambitio*: — *propius (ad) virtutem*. § 136, Obs. 5. — 2. *Bonus et ignavus*, "The brave man and the base:" — *ille*, "the former:" — *huic*, "to the latter." § 31, Obs. 1: — *vera via*, "by the true path," i. e., "by honorable means," opposed to *dolis atque fallaciis*. — 3. *Studium habet*, "Implies a desire:" — *concupivit*, "ever desires." § 44, iii., 2: — *ea* (scil., *avaritia*) *quasi venenis malis imbuta*, "it, as if tainted with pernicious drugs." — 4. *Armis recepta re publica*, "Having recovered the State by force of arms," viz., from the Marian party, Ch. VII., Note 3: — *bonis initiis malos eventus habuit*, "from good beginnings brought things to a pernicious end," lit., "had bad endings." *Bonis initiis*, the ablative absolute (§ 146, Obs. 10.), and may be rendered, "though his beginnings were good." — 5. *Rapere omnes*, &c., "Every one seized and plundered." These are historical infinitives. § 144, Obs. 6: — *in civibus*, "upon the citizens," lit., "among," or, "in the case of the citizens." — 6. *Exercitum . . . luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat*, "Had indulged his army—in excessive luxury and dissipation:" — *in otio*, "in leisure," i. e., "in a time of peace." — 7. *Insuevit—amare, potare*, "Became accustomed to lewdness, to drink to excess:" — *signa, tabulas pictas*, &c., "statues, paintings, vessels

adorned with engraving:" — *privatim et publice*, "whether private or public property:" — *delubra*, "shrines." *Delubrum* is a small temple, or part of a temple, a shrine. — 8. *Nihil reliqui* (§ 106, Obs. 8.) *victis ferere*, "Left nothing remaining to the vanquished." — 9. *Quippe fatigant*, "Seeing that (or, inasmuch as) prosperity weakens the minds even of the wise;" so that they do not act a proper part: — *ne* (for *nedum*) *illi*, &c., "much less could these (soldiers of Sulla), their manners being already corrupted, make a temperate use of victory."

XII.—1. *Honori—probro*, datives of the end. § 114, Obs. 4: — *innocentia pro malevolentia*, "integrity to be regarded as malevolence," i. e., persons who acted uprightly, not only got no credit for their conduct, but were regarded as acting from malevolent motives, in order practically to censure others for their rapacity. — 2. *Ex divitiis*, "In consequence of riches:" — *avaritia cum superbia* (= *et superbia*). § 102, Obs. 2. — 3. *Rapere, consumere*, "They seized, they wasted:" — *sua parvi pendere*, "they regarded their own things as of little value." § 122, R. xxviii. — 4. *Pudorem . . . habere*, "They had no regard for modesty, chastity, things divine and human without distinction, and no restraint on themselves," scil., in the violation of them: — *nihil pensi, neque (nihil) moderati habere*, "to have no regard, and no self-control." For rendering *neque* by "and," see § 134, Obs. 4. — 5. *Operæ pretium est*, "It is worth while," lit., "the labor has its reward." § 112, R. ii.: — *quum cognoveris*, "when you have viewed:" — *fecere*, "erected," "built:" — *visere*, "to visit them," viz., so as to contrast the small and humble edifices erected by our ancestors for the worship of the gods, with the splendid mansions and villas erected by these men for themselves: — *religiosissimi*, "most devout." — 6. *Illi*, "They," our ancestors: — *victis*, "from the vanquished." Dative, § 123, R. xxix., with explanation. So also *sociis*, in the next sentence: — *præter injuriæ licentiam*, "except the power of injuring." — 7. *Per summum scelus* (an adverbial phrase), "most wickedly:" — *id demum*, "that truly;" *id* relates to, and is in apposition with *injuriam facere*, and gives force to the expression: — *esset imperio uti*, "were to exercise authority."

XIII.—1. *Subversos montes, maria constructa esse*, "Mountains were levelled, artificial seas were constructed;" referring to the expensive improvements in the pleasure grounds around their villas, and the

immense *piscine*, or fish ponds, resembling seas, constructed by wealthy Romans. — 2. *Quibus*, "To these." § 99, Obs. 8. — 3. *Ceterique cultus*, "And other luxurious habits." *Cultus* is a *verbum medium*, sometimes used in a good sense, and sometimes in a bad, as here: — *vescendi causa*, "for the sake of gratifying the appetite." — 4. *Exquirere, dormire, &c.*, historical infinitives. § 144, Obs. 6: — *luxu*, "by a voluptuous indulgence." — 5. *Familiares opes*, "Their private fortunes:" — *facinora*, "to daring crimes." — 6. *Haud facile libidinibus carebat*, "Did not easily refrain from sensual indulgences:" — *questui atque sumptui*, "to getting and spending."

XIV.—1. *Omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum* (the abstract for the concrete, *flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum*), "Of all sorts of infamous and violent men." Having given an account of the state of morality in the times of Sulla, the historian, in this and the next chapter, describes the character of Catiline himself, and that of his associates, by whose help he expected to overturn the government. — 2. *Alienum æs*, "Debt," lit., "money belonging to another:" — *quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret*, "in order to pay for—to purchase a pardon for—a scandalous or criminal action;" *flagitium* means "a base deed;" *scelus*, "a wicked deed;" *facinus*, in a bad sense, "a bold or daring crime." — 3. *Convicti judiciis*, "Persons convicted on trial:" — *ad hoc*, "in addition to this," "moreover:" — *quos*, i. e., *ii quos, &c.*; here *manus* refers to *sanguine civile* ("bloodshed," "murder"), and *lingua* to *perjurio*. The arrangement is artificial—connecting the second and third, and the first and fourth words of a series, i. e., the two nearest together, and the two most distant: — *consciis animis*, "a guilty conscience." — 4. *Par similisque*, "Equal to and like the rest," i. e., in every respect like the rest, having the same wicked principles and carrying them to the same extent: — *ætate fluxi*, "pliant on account of their (youthful) age." — 5. *Ex ætate*, "According to his age:" — *præbere, mercari, &c.*, historical infinitives: — *neque modestiæ sue*, "nor his own honor:" — *dum*, "if only," "provided:" — *obnoxios*, "dependent upon;"—because if they would not be subservient to him, it was in his power to expose them, having a perfect knowledge of the crimes they had committed.

XV.—1. *Cum virgine nobili*. The person here mentioned is not named, probably on account of her family, and is not certainly known: — *cum sacerdote Vestæ*. The Vestal virgins were introduced at

Rome by Numa. The original number was four, which was afterwards increased to six. They were the priestesses of Vesta—had charge of the sacred fire—and were bound by a vow of perpetual chastity, the violation of which subjected them to be buried alive in the *Campus Sceleratus*, and their paramours to be scourged to death in the forum. The sacredness of their character, and the fatal consequences of violating their vow, aggravated the guilt of Catiline in this case. The Vestal referred to was Fabia Terentia, the sister of Terentia, the wife of Cicero, and afterwards of Sallust. She was brought to trial by Clodius, but through the interference of some respectable citizens, for some cause not known, was acquitted: — *contra jus fasque*, “contrary to law human and divine.” — 2. *Captus amore*, “Smitten with a passion for:” — *nubere illi*, “to marry him.” “To marry,” spoken of a woman, is expressed by *nubere*, scil., *se*, lit., “to veil herself,” because the bride wore a veil during the marriage ceremony; —spoken of a man, it is expressed by *ducere*, scil., *uxorem domum*, lit., “to take his wife home;” because, after the ceremony, the husband led the wife from her father’s house to his own: — *privignum*, “a step-son.” The son of Catiline by a former marriage, would be the step-son of Orcstilla when he married her: — *pro certo creditur*, — *creditur* is properly not impersonal, but has for its subject the infinitive clause following. Besides the unnatural crime of putting to death his son, to clear the way for this marriage, Cicero only, alluding to this, mentions expressly that for the same purpose he murdered his wife also; I. Or. in Cat., Ch. VI. — 3. *Quæ quidem res*, “This thing indeed: — *facinoris*, “the plot,” “the conspiracy.” — 4. *Infestus*, “At enmity with,” or, passively, “odious to,” “hated by:” — *neque vigiliis, neque quietibus*, “neither in watchings nor in slumbers,” i. e., “neither waking nor sleeping:” — *ita*, “to such a degree.” — 5. *Incessus*, “his gait:” — *prorsus in facie, &c.*, “in a word, madness was visible in his appearance and countenance” — “distraction appeared in every look and feature.”

XVI.—1. *Ut supra diximus*, scil. in Ch. XIV., with which this is properly connected; Ch. XV. being a sort of digression: — *testes signatoresque falsos*, “false witnesses and forgers” (signers of false deeds); *falsos* qualifies both substantives: — *commodare*, “he lent out,” scil., to such as required them. — 2. *Fidem . . . imperabat*. Arrange, *Imperabat habere fidem*, “He taught them to hold (i. e., esteem) their honor:” — *fortunas*, “their lot,” or “condition in

life:" — *vilis*, "of little account:" — *attriverat*, "had wasted away," "gradually destroyed." — 3. *Minus suppetebat*, "Did not offer:" — *insontes*, "those who had done him no injury:" — *circumvenire*, *jugulare*, governed by *imperabat*: — *gratuito*, "without any advantage," "gratuitously." — 4. *Æs alienum . . . ingens erat*, "The debt was great;" i. e., "many were greatly in debt:" the reference is chiefly to the soldiers of Sulla, to whom he had given settlements in different parts, particularly in Etruria, but who, spending recklessly, soon contracted heavy debts, and were again desirous of war and plunder. See Cicero's Or. II. in Cat. Ch. IX. — 5. *In extremis terris*, viz., Pontus and Armenia: — *consulatum petenti*, "now a candidate for the consulship:" most editions have *petundi*, which would imply he was not now a candidate, but that he had the expectation of being one. It is certain, however, he was a candidate that year; and the hope entertained, probably had a reference to his success, rather than to his being only a candidate: — *nihil sane intentus*, "being truly attentive to nothing,"—having no apprehension of danger.

XVII.—1. *Kalendas Junias*, "The first of June," viz., B. C. 63, or A. U. C. 690. For the method of computing dates, and for the dates in this and the next chapter, see Lat. Gr. p. 305: — *primo singulos appellare*, "at first he addressed them separately,"—"one by one:" — *in unum*, scil., *locum*. — 2. *Necessitudo*—a more ancient form than *necessitas*—is used here and below in its primary sense, "necessity," "need." — 3. *Coloniis et municipiis*; a *colonia* consisted of Roman citizens sent out to occupy a particular place, which in some way had come into the possession of the Romans—a *municipium*, or free town, was a foreign town or city whose inhabitants had obtained the right of Roman citizens: — *domi*, "at home," i. e., in their own states. — 4. *Juventus pleraque &c.*, "Most young men, and especially those of the nobles." *Plerusque* in the singular is used only by Sallust; other writers use the plural: — *vivere copia* = *vivendi copia*, "the means of living," lit., "abundance to live." § 144, 3. — 5. *Fuere . . . qui crederent*. § 141, Obs. 1: — *M. Licinium Crassum*. M. L. Crassus had been consul several years before (B. C. 70), together with Cn. Pompey, and enjoyed considerable popularity: — *invisus ipsi*, "odious to (hated by) him," scil., Crassus: — *contra illius potentiam*, "in opposition to his (Pompey's) power."

XVIII.—1. *Antea*. Sallust here goes back and gives, in this and the next chapter, an account of an unsuccessful attempt to overturn the government three years before this, and in which Catiline took an active part. — 2. *De qua*, scil., *conjurazione*, implied in *conjuravere*. § 99, Obs. 2, and Exc. 1. — 3. *Designati consules*, “Consuls elect.” Consuls were called *designati* from the time they were chosen in July, till they entered on the duties of their office on the first of January ensuing: — *legibus ambitus interrogati*, “being tried by the laws of bribery,” viz., bribery in procuring office. These laws were very severe. By the Calpurnian law, the person convicted was removed from the senate—excluded from the consulship—subjected to a fine—and to this was added afterwards by the Tullian law banishment for ten years: — *pœnas dederant*, “had given satisfaction;” in other words, “had suffered punishment.” — 4. *Pecuniarum repetundarum reus*, “Being accused of extortion.” *Res repetundæ* (lit., “things to be demanded back”) mean the things or money taken illegally by public officers from those under their authority by extortion or fraud, and which might be reclaimed in a court of law after the expiration of their term of office. A person so accused could not stand candidate for the consulship, till he was tried and acquitted. Catiline had been appointed prætor and obtained Africa as his province, B. C. 68. For his cruel and rapacious conduct there, he was put on his trial at Rome, and this not being concluded in time to permit him (*profiteri* scil. *se candidatum*) to announce himself a candidate (*intra legitimos dies*) within the time appointed by law, he was prevented from being a candidate that year:—the legal time was *trinundinum*, i. e., public profession must be made publicly on each of the three *nundinæ* or market-days next preceding the election (*comitia centuriata*). This was at least 17 days. — 5. *Cum hoc . . . consilio communicato*, Having communicated their plan to him, namely Piso: — *ipsi fascibus correptis . . . mittere*, “they of their own accord having seized the fasces (i. e., the consular power), sent:” — *Duas Hispanias*, “the two Spains.” Spain, like Gaul, for the convenience of administration, was divided into two parts—*Hispania Tarraconensis*, named from its capital *Tarraco* (now Tarragona), and *Hispania Bætica*, named from the river *Bætis* (now Guadalquivir). These from their position in relation to Rome were called respectively, *citerior*, and *ulterior*. — 6. *Ea re cognita*, “This having been discovered.” The student will notice that Sallust almost uniformly uses *ea res*, and *quæ res*, for *id* and *quod*, referring to an idea expressed by a sentence or clause of

a sentence preceding. — 7. *Quodni Catilina maturasset*, 'And if Catiline had not been too hasty:' — *eo die*, &c. Arrange, *pessimum facinus post conditam urbem Romam patratum foret eo die*. — 8. *Consilium diremit*, "Broke up their scheme."

XIX.—1. *Pro prætore*, "With prætorian power," i. e., though only quæstor, he was commissioned to act as prætor: — *adnitente Crasso*, "Crassus making interest for him." — 2. *Præsidium (esse) in eo*, "That there was security in him," viz., against the formidable power of Pompey. Comp. Chap. XVII. near the end, *cujusvis opes*, &c. — 3. *In provincia*, "Within the province." — 4. *Sunt qui ita dicunt*. Sallust here uses the indicative *dicunt*, though the ordinary construction requires *dicant*. § 141, Obs. 1. The indicative is properly regarded as a Græcism: — *alii autem*, scil., *dicunt*: — *voluntate ejus*, "by his (Pompey's) desire:" — *præterea*, "except on this occasion," "in no other instance." — 5. *In medio*, "Undetermined."

XX.—1. *Paulo ante*, scil., in the beginning of Chap. XVII. Having, in Chaps. XVIII. and XIX., given some account of the previous insurrection, he returns, in this Chapter, to the history of the conspiracy of Catiline: — *in rem fore*, "that it would be of advantage:" — *universos* (opposed to *singulos*), "altogether," "in a body:" — *ædium*, "of the house;" *ædes*, in the singular, means a building of one apartment, a small temple; in the plural, it means a dwelling-house, containing several apartments. — 2. *Spectata mihi forent*, "Had been observed by me." § 126, R. xxxiii.: — *per ignaviam aut vana ingenia* (by metonymy for *per ignavos et vanos homines*), "with the assistance of cowardly and fickle men." — 3. *Tempestatibus*, "Occasions;" *tempestas* is often used by Sallust for *tempus*: — *simul quia*, &c. Arrange and supply thus, *Simul quia intellexi eadem esse bona malaque vobis, quæ (sunt bona malaque) mihi*. — 4. *Idem velle atque idem nolle*, "To have the same wishes and aversions:" — *eademum*, "this indeed." *Ea*, though referring to *idem velle*, &c., agrees with *amicitia* following. § 99, Obs. 4. See Ch. VII., 5: — *diversi*, "separately," i. e., at different times, and in different places. — 5. *Nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem*, "Unless we restore ourselves to liberty," "set ourselves free." The emphatic *ipse*, in reflexive sentences, commonly agrees in case with the subject, but is translated with the pronoun in the accusative as here = *nosmet ipsos*. — 6. *In . . . jus atque ditionem concessit*, "Fell under the power and man-

agement:" — *tetrarchæ*, "tetrarchs;" originally the rulers of the fourth part of a province, but came to mean an inferior or petty ruler of any portion of a country: — *esse—pendere*, historical infinitives: — *populi, nationes*, "communities, nations:" *populus* means the people of a whole country; *natio*, the people of a district or section of that country. Thus the Germans with relation to the Saxons are *populus*, and the Saxons, with relation to the Germans, are *natio*: — *omnes ceteri . . . vulgus fuimus*, "all the rest of us . . . have been regarded as the rabble:" — *sine gratia*, "without influence." — 7. *Quæ*, "These things," "such things." § 99, Obs. 8. — 8. *Pro deum* (contr. for *deorum*, § 10, Exe. 7) *atque hominum fidem*, "By the faith of gods and men." The interjection *pro* (*proh*) is followed by the nominative, accusative, or vocative. § 117: — *contra*, "on the other hand." — 9. *Cetera res expedit*, "The rest will follow of course:" lit., "the rest of the affair (§ 98, Obs. 9.) will disentangle, or release itself:" — *cui virile ingenium est*, "who has the spirit of a man:" — *superare*, "should abound:" — *extruendo mari*. See Ch. XIII, 1: — *rem familiarem*, "that private property:" — *illos binas*, &c., "that they should each join together two houses or more." Note the force of the distributive *binas*. § 24, 11: — *larem familiarem*, "a home," lit., "a family divinity." — 10. *Toreumata*, "Embossed plate:" — *trahunt, vexant*, "they waste, they consume." — *summa libidine*, &c., "by the utmost extravagance they are not able to exhaust their wealth." — 11. *Mala res*, "Our condition is wretched." — 12. *Quin = qui non*, "Why—not." — 13. *Omnia ea præmia*, "All these things as rewards." § 97, Expl. So below, *me . . . imperatore*, &c. — 14. *Hortentur*, used imperatively. § 42, Obs. 4.

XXI.—1. *Quieta movere*, "To disturb the public tranquillity," lit., "things at rest." This clause is the subject of *videbatur*: — *conditio belli*, "the terms of the war," i. e., the conditions on which they were to engage in it. — 2. *Quid ubique*, &c. Arrange, *Quid opis aut spei haberent*; *ubique*, = *et ubi*, "And where." *Ubi* is often used by Sallust in the sense of *et ubi*. — 3. *Tabulas novas*, "An abolition of debts," lit., "new tablets," or "registers of debts." The *tabula* was a piece of board covered with wax, on which the writing was traced with a *stylus*. Not unfrequently in the ancient republics, when the people were generally unable to pay their debts, they were remitted in whole or in part by authority. When the

record of debt on these tablets was changed in accordance with the proposed reduction, or was effaced altogether, they were called *novæ tabulæ*. The promise of this was frequently made by the leaders of seditious movements to stimulate those in debt to espouse their cause: — *proscriptionem locupletium*. Proscription, first practised by Sulla, was a posting up of persons' names in public places, with the promise of a certain reward (commonly two talents) for the head of each person so proscribed; also their estates and goods were confiscated and seized. Catiline promised a renewal of these enormities to his followers. — 4. *Petere*, "Was a candidate for?" — *quem*, "who." § 145, Obs. 2: — *necessitudinibus*, "necessities." This word is much used by Sallust in the sense of *necessitas*, which is its primary meaning. See Ch. XVII., 2: — *cum eo se, &c.* Arrange, *se consulem cum eo facturum (esse) initium agendi*, "that he (scil., Catiline), if elected consul, would with him (C. Antony as his colleague) make," &c. C. Antonius was the son of the celebrated orator M. Antonius, and brother of M. Antonius Creticus, the father of the triumvir. — 5. *Alium egestatis*. § 122, R. xxvii: — *quibus—prædæ*. § 114, R. xix. — 6. *Petitionem suam*, "His application for the consulship:" — *curæ (sibi) haberent*. § 114 as above.

XXII.—1. *Fuere . . . qui dicerent*, "Some said." § 141, Obs. 1: — *oratione habita*, "having made this speech:" — *populares sceleris sui*, "his partners in crime." *Popularis*, means "a fellow-countryman,"—"one of the same people," but is used here and below (Ch. xxiv.) in the sense of *socius* or *particeps*. — 2. *Post execrationem omnes degustavissent*, "After invoking a curse on themselves (lit., "after the curse," i. e., if they should prove unfaithful), they had all tasted the cup:" — *atque eo, dictitare* (= *dictitabant*, § 144, Obs. 6.) *fecisse*, "and they said that he had done it with this view,"—*quo*, "in order that:" — *alius alii, &c.* Arrange, *conscii alius alii tanti facinoris*, "being conscious, one to another, of so great a crime: *alius alii* in the singular, is distributive of *illi* understood, the subject of *forent*. — 3. *Ciceronis invidiam . . . leniri*, "That the odium against Cicero would be allayed;" the genitive of the object. § 106, Obs. 1. — 4. *Pro magnitudine*, "Considering (lit., in proportion to) its importance."

XXIII.—1. *Quem censores &c.*, "Whom the censors had expelled from the senate for his disgraceful conduct." The censors had the oversight of public morals, and it was their duty to degrade from their

office or rank any one, however high, who had made himself infamous. A senator was expelled from the senate, *probris gratia*, by striking his name from the roll. This punishment was called *infamia*. — 2. *Suamet ipse scelera*, "His own crimes." § 30, Obs. 4: — *prorsus neque dicere*, &c., "in short he did not regard either what he said or did," lit., "neither to say, nor to do, did he have any regard." — 3. *Cui quum minus gratus esset*, "And when he was less acceptable to her," scil., than formerly: — *largiri*, "to bestow large presents upon her:" — *maria montesque polliceri*, "to make extravagant promises," lit., "to promise seas and mountains:" — *sibi obnoxia*, "submissive to him:" — *ferocius agitare*, "to behave (to act) more ferociously." — 4. *Insolentie*, "Of the unusual conduct:" — *haud occultum habuit*, "did not keep concealed,"—"made no secret of:" — *periculum rei publicæ*. § 110, R. xv.: — *sublato auctore*, "concealing her author," lit., "her informer being kept out" (scil., of her statement). — 5. *Namque antea*, &c., "For before this the most of the nobility were filled with envy," lit., "boiled with envy;" *nobilitas* a collective noun is here connected with both a singular and a plural verb. § 102, Obs. 4: — *novus homo*, "a new man," "an upstart." Among the Romans a man who was the first of his family to raise himself to any curule office (i. e., the office of consul, prætor, quæstor, or curule ædile), was called *novus homo*, and was looked upon by the nobles with jealousy and contempt. As none of Cicero's ancestors had borne a curule office, he was *novus homo*. — 6. *Post fuere*, "Were set aside," lit., "were behind."

XXIV.—1. *Quod factum*, &c., "And this deed had at first intimidated the accomplices of the conspiracy" (though it did not quash it). § 99, Obs. 8. — 2. *Plura agitare*, "He contrived more things,"—historical infinitive: — *sumptam mutuam*, "borrowed:" — *sua aut amicorum fide*, "on his own credit, or that of his friends." § 30, Obs. 1: — *Fæsulas*, "to Fæsulæ." § 130, 2. Fæsulæ, now Fiesole, was a town in the northern part of Etruria, near where Florence now stands: — *portare*, "he carried," meaning, "he caused to be carried." In common phraseology, a man is said to do that which he orders and causes to be done,—*qui facit per alterum facit per se*. — 3. *Ubi atas*, &c., "When age had set bounds only to their gains, but not to their luxury;" *neque* here = *et non*. § 93, 1. — 4. *Servitia urbana sollicitare*, "Stir up the city slaves,"

XXV.—1. *Sempronia*. This woman was of the illustrious family of the Sempronii, from which descended the Gracchi. She was married to Decimus Junius Brutus, who was consul B. C. 76. — 2. *Multa alia*, "Many other accomplishments." This accusative, as well as the preceding infinitives, depends on *docta*. § 126, R. iv. — 3. *Pecunie an famæ*, i. e., *utrum pecunie an famæ minus parceret*: — *haud facile discerneres*, "you (i. e., a person) could not easily determine." The 1st pers. plur. and 2d pers. sing. are sometimes used for the 3d pers. singular without a definite subject. See Ch. I., near the end, *incipias—consulueris*. § 48, Note 1. — 4. *Creditum abjuraverat*, "Had forsworn a trust committed to her:" — *cædis conscia*, "privy to murder:" — *præceps abierat*, "had rushed headlong to ruin." § 98, Obs. 10. — 5. *Ingenium ejus haud absurdum*, "Her talents were by no means contemptible;" *haud* is a strong negative: — *inerat* has for its subject *faciæ* and *lepos*, but agrees with the last. § 102, Obs. 1.

XXVI.—1. *In proximum annum*, "for the next year," i. e., B. C. 62. He had failed the year before, Ch. xxiv.: — *si designatus foret*, "if he should be elected." See Ch. xviii., 3. — 2. *Illi*, "To him," scil., Cicero: — *dolus aut astutiæ*, "dexterity (here taken in a good sense) or address." — 3. *Effecerat*, "Had brought it to pass." The object of this verb is the following sentence, *ut . . . sentiret*: — *paulo ante*, scil., Ch. xxiii.: — *sibi*, "to him," scil., Cicero. — 4. *Ad hoc*, often in Sallust = *preterea*, "besides," "moreover:" — *pactione provincie*, "by the grant of his province." Antonius was at first supposed to be favorable to Catiline, but was gained over by Cicero to the interest of the State, by the transaction here mentioned; and he proved true to his engagement. Cicero had obtained by lot the rich province of Macedonia, and exchanged it for Gallia Cisalpina, which had fallen to the lot of Antonius. Cicero further showed his disinterestedness and patriotism, by declining the latter province also, that he might remain at Rome to watch, and if possible thwart the conspiracy: — *ne contra rem publicam sentiret*, "not to cherish sentiments hostile to the republic." — 5. *Clientium*, "Clients." That the Patricians and Plebeians might be connected together by the strictest bonds, Romulus ordained that every plebeian should choose from the patricians, any one he pleased as his patron or protector, and whose client he was called. It was the duty of the patron to advise, protect, and assist his client; and of the client to respect and serve his

patron with his life and fortune, if necessary. This relation was held very sacred, and any one who violated its obligations was held infamous. Hence patrons and clients vied with each other in fidelity, and for more than 600 years, there was no dissension between them. It was esteemed honorable for a patrician to have many clients, and no man could have more devoted or faithful defenders. See Adam's Rom. Antiq. — 6. *Petitio*, "His application for the consulship:" — *quas consuli in campo fecerat*, "which he had laid for the consul (Cicero) in the Campus Martius." This was the place where the election (*comitia centuriata*) was held: — *prosperè cessere*, "were successful:" — *aspera fadaque evenerant*, "had turned out unfavorably and disgracefully." § 98, Obs. 10.

XXVII.—1. *Septimium quendam Camertem*, "One Septimius a Camertian," i. e., a native of Camerinum, a town of Umbria: — *in agrum Picenum*, "into the Picene country." This was a Roman territory on the Adriatic. *Ager* as here used means a district or small territory, denominated generally from its chief town: — *alium alio*, "one to one place and another to another." § 98, Obs. 11. *Alio*, an adverb: — *quem ubique* = *quem et ubi*, "whom and where he thought it would be proper;" *quem* refers to *alium*, and *ubi* to *alio*, Ch. xxi. 2. — 2. *Ipse cum telo esse*, "He himself carried a weapon," lit., "was with a weapon:" — *item alios* (sup. *cum telis esse*) *jubere*. All these are historical infinitives, of which Catiline is the subject. — 3. *Nihil procedit*, supply *illi*, "Nothing succeeds to him,"—present tense. § 44, I., 3. — 4. *Per M. Porcium Lacam*. Cicero tells us that the meeting here mentioned was held in the house of Læca. I. Or. in Cat., Ch. iv. — 5. *Alios in alia loca*, § 98, Obs. 11: — *qui initium . . . facerent*, "in order to make a beginning." § 141, Obs. 2, 4th: — *multum officere*, "greatly obstructed," "was a great hinderance to."

XXVIII.—1. *Sicuti salutatum*, "As if to offer him their morning salutations." Among the Romans who held their levees early in the morning—before sun-rise,—it was accounted a mark of great respect to call very early. As the conspirators met at midnight, and spent probably some hours in their deliberations, the *paulo post* here, would come up to about the time of such early morning salutations. — 2. *Curius ubi intellegit* (an old form for *intelligit*), "As soon as Curius perceives,"—see preceding Chap., Note 3, with ref. See also Ch. xxvi.:

— *impendeat*, § 140, 5. — 3. *Illi*, "They," scil., C. Cornelius and L. Vargunteius. — 4. *Novarum rerum cupidam*, "Eager for a revolution of the state:" — *Sullæ dominatione*, "under the tyranny of Sulla:" — *Sullanis colonis*, "the colonists of Sulla," i. e., the soldiers of Sulla, settled as colonists in the lands of the Etrurians: — *nihil reliqui fecerant*, "had left nothing," i. e., had wasted every thing.

XXIX.—1. *Ancipiti malo*, "By this double danger," scil., from the conspirators within the city, and the army of Manlius without: — *privato consilio*, "by his own private management:" — *satis compertum habebat*, "had he sufficiently ascertained." § 146, Obs. 1: — *vulgi rumoribus exagitata*, "noised abroad by the rumors of the people." — 2. *Quod plerumque*. Here *quod* (sometimes *id quod*) refers to the following clause *senatus decrevit*, &c., § 99, Obs. 2; for the omission of *ut* before *darent* see § 140, Obs. 5. — 3. *Ea potestas . . . maxima*, "This highest authority." In former times, in dangerous emergencies of the state, a Dictator was created with absolute power for the use of which, however, he was responsible afterwards. But for nearly two hundred years before this the practice had fallen into disuse, and, in place of it, the consuls were clothed with dictatorial powers by a decree of the senate in the form here given, *darent operam*, &c. The infinitive clauses following, scil., *exercitum parare*, &c., are in apposition with *potestas*, and explain it, and may be connected in English by "namely." — 4. *Imperium atque iudicium summum habere*, "To exercise the highest military and civil authority:" — *aliter*, "otherwise," i. e., without such authority.

XXX.—1. *Recitavit*, "Read aloud:" — *ante diem VI. (sextum)*, &c., "On the sixth day before the first of Nov.," i. e., 27. Oct. Lat. Gr., p. 306: — *id quod*, Ch. xxix. 2: — *portenta atque prodigia*, "direful omens and prodigies;" *portenta*, means strange and unnatural events, which, in the superstition of the times, were thought to *portend* dire calamities; *prodigia*, singular appearances, thought to be prophetic of future events. These are mentioned by Cicero, III. Or. against Cat., Ch. VIII. — 2. *Senati*, genitive in the form of the second declension instead of *senatûs*. § 16, Exc. 2: — *circumque ea loca*, "and to those places around;"—*circum* is here used adverbially. — 3. *Ad urbem*, "Near the city:" — *impediti ne triumpharent*, "being hindered from obtaining a triumph." Commanders who claimed a

triumph could not enter the city until the senate decided on their application. If they violated this regulation, and entered the city, their military command instantly ceased, and with it, their right to demand a triumph. Marcius Rex had been sent by the senate as proconsul to Cilicia, and Metellus, for the purpose of subduing Crete. Both on their return demanded a triumph, and were waiting the decision of the senate without the city, when this new call for their services occurred: — *calumniæ paucorum*, “by the intrigues of a few,” probably influential senators bribed by the enemies of these commanders to oppose the grant, or, it may be, expecting to be paid by these commanders themselves to withdraw their opposition. — 4. *Prætores, scil., missi sunt*: — *pro tempore atque periculo*, “in proportion to the exigency and the danger.” — 5. *Premium*, i. e., *decrevere premium*, “They voted as a reward:” — *sestertia centum*; the *sestertium* was a sum of money (not a coin) = 1,000 *sestertii*, and worth in our currency about \$38 $\frac{6}{10}$; a hundred sestertia of course was equal to \$3,868, a large sum in these times, offered as a reward to a slave besides his liberty. — 6. *Pro cuiusque opibus*, “according to the means of each (town).” The reason for distributing the gladiatorial families in this way doubtless was to prevent them from combining together and forming plans hostile to the state. *Familia* properly signifies all the slaves belonging to one household: — *minores magistratus*, “the inferior magistrates,” i. e., those officers who did not by virtue of their office become members of the senate.

XXXI.—1. *Quibus rebus*, “By these things.” § 99, Obs. 8: — *lætitia atque lascivia, quæ* (neuter instead of *quas*). See Ch. V., Note 7, with references: — *diuturna quies*. Before this there had been no serious disturbances since the time of Sulla, a period of nearly 20 years: — *festinare*, &c., historical infinitives. — 2. *Quibus rei publicæ magnitudine* (the ablative used by Sallust for *propter magnitudinem*), &c., “To whom, on account of the greatness of the commonwealth, the dread of war had been unusual.” Here observe the force of the frequentatives *afflictare* and *rogitare*. — 3. *Eadem illa movebat*, “He continued to push on these same measures:” — *et ipse lege Plautia*, &c., “and he himself was accused on the Plautian (or Plotian) law,”—a law *de vi*, proposed by M. Plautius Sylvanus, enacted B. C. 88, and aimed at those who might attempt by violence to subvert the existing constitution of the state. On the ground of this law, Catiline had already been summoned before a court of law, though no formal

charge had yet been brought against him. — 4. *Dissimulandi causa* (gerund), "In order to conceal his villany:" — *aut sui expurgandi* (gerundive, § 147, R. lxii.), "or of clearing himself," scil., from suspicion: — *sicuti iurgio lacessitus foret*, "as if he had been provoked by an accusation originating in a private difficulty:" — *orationem habuit luculentam*, &c., "made a speech brilliant," &c.: — *scriptam edidit*, "wrote out and published," lit., "being written out, he published." This is the first of Cicero's Orations against Catiline. It was delivered in the senate, extemporaneously, on the 8th Nov., and is one of the most splendid orations that have come down to us, and "its effect," says Mr. Dunlop, "must have been perfectly electric." — 5. *Patres Conscripti* (a title used in addressing the Roman senate), "That the Conscript Fathers." This speech is given in the form of oblique narration. See § 141, Rule vi., Explanation: — *ea familia*, "of such a family." § 31, Obs. 2, last part: — *ut omnia bona*, &c., "that he might hope for all preferments:" — *sibi . . . perdita re publica opus esse*, "that there was to him . . . any need of ruining the republic:" — *cujus ipsius atque majorum*, &c., "whose own numerous services, and those of his ancestors were bestowed on the Roman people." — 6. *Inquilinus civis urbis Romæ*, "An adventitious citizen of the city of Rome." *Inquilinus* means here, one not born in Rome, and having no house there, but who came to it from the country, and occupied a hired lodging. This is spoken sarcastically, and with contempt of Cicero who was born at Arpinum, a small town of Italy, and is maliciously put in contrast with his own patrician origin. — 7. *Quum adderet*, "When he was going on to add:" — *obstrepere*, "raised a loud clamor." — 8. *Præceps agor*, "I am driven headlong." § 98, Obs. 10. Here the historian changes from the *oratio obliqua* to the *oratio directa*. § 141, Obs. 5, 2d: — *incendium meum*, &c., "I will quench the conflagration which threatens me by the ruin (of my adversaries)." The allusion is to the method of extinguishing a fire sometimes resorted to, namely, to pull down the building.—This part of Catiline's speech is in the form of direct discourse.—It is supposed that Sallust is in error in stating that this speech was made by Catiline in reply to the first Oration of Cicero referred to above, inasmuch as Cicero himself says, in his second Oration against Catiline delivered the next day (II. Or. in Cat., Ch. VI.), that notwithstanding Catiline's boldness he did not utter a word in reply; on the contrary, *paruit, ivit*. Cicero, however, does mention in his oration for Murena that some days before, Catiline used nearly the

very words in reply to Cato, who, in the presence of the senate, threatened him with a public trial. Or. pro Murena, Chap. XXV., ad fin.

XXXII.—1. *Insidia consuli*, “The plot for the consul,” scil., Cicero. § 110, R. xv: — *intellegebat*, an old form for *intelligebat*, “he perceived clearly.” — **2.** *Optimum factu credens*, “Believing it to be his best course,” lit., “the best thing to be done.” § 148, 2: — *legiones scriberentur*, “the legions were enrolled,” scil., which the prætors Pompeius Rufus and Metellus Celer were authorized to levy. (Ch. XXX., ad fin: — *antecapere*, “to secure beforehand:” — *cum paucis*, “with a few;” Plutarch says 300. — **3.** *Cethego*, “To Cethegus.” C. Cornelius Cethegus, a Roman of corrupt morals and turbulent character, one of the most active in this conspiracy: Cicero informs us that in rashness and daring he surpassed Catiline himself, and almost equalled him in strength of body, love of arms, and dignity of birth: C. Cornelius Lentulus, associated with him, was a man of talents, but extremely corrupt in his private character,—of immoderate vanity, and great ambition: — *mandat*, “he gives in charge.” After *mandat, ut* is elegantly omitted before the subjunctives following, scil., *confirmat, maturent, parent*. § 140, Obs. 5: — *propediem*, “at an early day,” “very soon.” — **4.** *Cum mandatis*, “With a message.” *Mandatum* commonly means “a verbal message;” *litteræ*, “a written message.”

XXXIII.—1. *Qui* has its antecedent in *nostra*, § 99, Obs. 2, and is the subject of *sumus*: — *plèrique*, “most of us:” — *omnes*, “all of us:” — *patriæ, fama, and fortunis*, in different cases, depend on *expertes*. § 107, R. xi. — **2.** *Lege uti*, “To avail himself of the benefit of the law,” scil., the Papirian law, which prohibited imprisonment for debt, and made property the only security for debts. This law was intended to mitigate the severity of the laws of the XII tables, which gave creditors an extensive power over the persons of their debtors, imprisoning, and otherwise maltreating them. The complaint here is, that through the rapacity of money-lenders, and the cruel unfaithfulness of the prætors in administering the laws, they did not obtain the benefit of these mitigations. — **3.** *Vestrum*, the genitive of the personal pronoun. The possessive *vestri* might have been used, § 30, Obs. 1, “your ancestors.” — **4.** *Argentum ære solutum est*, “Silver was paid with brass,” i. e., a *sestertius* was paid with an *as*,

which, at that time, was only one-fourth of its value, making a reduction of three-fourths, or 75 per cent. of the debt. This reduction took place B. C. 86, during the ascendancy of the Marian party. See Ch. XXI., 3. — 5. *Sæpe ipsa plebes* (an ancient form for *plebs*). Livy mentions three secessions of this kind, to Mons Sacer, B. C. 493—to Mount Aventine, B. C. 448—and to Janiculum, B. C. 287. — 6. *Quarum rerum causa*, “On account of which things,” scil., power and riches; see Ch. XVIII., 6: — *nemo bonus . . . amittit*, “no man of spirit gives up.” — 7. *Consulatis, restituitis*. § 140, Obs. 5.

XXXIV.—1. *Si vellent . . . discedant*, &c., “If they wished, &c., they should lay down (lit., depart from) their arms.” The present after the imperfect is an unusual construction, § 137, and leads to suppose that, though the historian gives this reply in the oblique form, he gives this clause in the direct form, i. e., quoting, not narrating, the words of Marcius. “Let them lay down their arms, let them go as suppliants to Rome.” § 141, Obs. 5, 2d: — 2. *Ex itinere*, “On his journey.” — *præterea optimo cuique*, “and besides these, to each person of distinction” (scil., though not of consular rank). — 3. *Falsis criminibus*, “By false accusations,” referring to the charges made by Cicero in the speech mentioned, Ch. XXXI.: — *Massiliam in exilium*, “to Marseilles into exile.” As this city, though leagued with the Romans by treaty, was not subject to the civil law of Rome, those who withdrew from these laws by going into exile, might choose that city as a safe place of residence, without the fear of being delivered up to their own country. This pretence of going to Marseilles was of course intended only to deceive, as the sequel shows: — *non quo* (= *non quod*), “not because:” — *neve ex sua contentione*, &c., “and that an insurrection might not arise out of his private quarrel.” — 4. *Ab his longe diversas litteras*, “A letter very different from this.” *Litteræ* in the plural means “a letter,” or “letters.” As only one is here given, it may properly be rendered in the singular, “a letter:” — *earum exemplum*, “a copy of this.” *Littera* in the singular means “a mark or character,” “a letter of the alphabet.”

XXXV.—1. *L. Catilina Q. Catulo, S.* (i. e., *L. Catilina Q. Catulo salutem dicit*. § 123, R. xxix.), “Lucius Catiline to Q. Catulus greeting.” This is the usual Roman form of beginning a letter. No name was subscribed at the end, but merely the usual *ave, salve*, or the like was added: — *rê cognita* (Abl. absolute), “being proved by experi-

ence," lit., "the fact being fully ascertained:" — *commendationi mee*, "to my recommendation," scil., of Orestilla to your care. Ch. XV. See end of this letter. — 2. *Defensionem*, &c. Arrange, *Statui non parare defensionem*: — *in novo consilio*, "in my new enterprise." *Defensio* is a regular defense against an adversary — *satisfactio*, an apology or explanation for the satisfaction of a friend; before *satisfactionem* supply *sed*: — *ex nulla conscientia de culpa* (= *culpæ*), "from no consciousness of misconduct on my part." — 3. *Quam medius fidius*, &c., "Which (scil., *satisfactionem*), so may Jupiter help me, you will find to be true." *Mediusfidius* = *me dius fidius* (*juvet*), is a strong asseveration like *mehercule*. *Dius* = *deus*—*fidius* (from *fides*) is a surname of Jupiter, meaning "the god of honor." — 4. *Statum dignitatis*, scil., the consulship, which he considered due to him: — *non quin*, "not but that:" — *meis nominibus* (scil., *factum*), "of my own contracting:" — *alienis nominibus* (scil., *æs alienum factum*), "contracted by others," but for which he was responsible: — *suis filięque copiis*, "from her own resources and those of her daughter." § 30, Obs. 1. — 5. *Non dignos homines*, "Unworthy men," referring chiefly to Cicero, who, though a stranger (*inquilinus*), was made consul, and whom he regarded with the strongest aversion: — *me alienatum*, "that I was discarded," "set aside." — 6. *Hoc nomine*, "For this reason." Arrange what follows thus: *Secutus sum spes satis honestas pro meo casu, conservande reliquę dignitatis*, "I have followed (I have endeavored to realize) the hopes, honorable enough considering my calamity, of securing what of dignity remains to me." — 7. *Vim mihi parari*, "That an attack is to be made on me." With this pretence, he breaks off the letter, and avoids further "explanation," which it was difficult to make. — 8. *Eam ab injuria*, &c., "By the love you bear to your children I entreat you (lit., being entreated) defend her from injury:" — *Haveto*, "farewell."

XXXVI.—1. *In agro Arretino*, "In the territory of Arretium." (See *ager*, Ch. XXVII., 1.) This was in the centre of Etruria, near lake Thrasimenus: — *antea sollicitatam*, "formerly gained over" (to his cause): — *cum fascibus*, &c., as if he were consul. — 2. *Hostes*, "Enemies," "rebels:" — (*sed*) *ceterę multitudinĩ*, &c., "but to the rest of the party, it appoints a day:" — *sine fraude*, "without injury," "with impunity,"—with *liceret* supply *illis*, referring to *multitudinĩ*, "it would be permitted to them:" — *pręter (illis) condemnatis*, "except to those convicted." — 3. *Multo maxime*

miserabile, "Truly most deplorable:" — *cui quum*, &c., "to which, although from the rising to the setting of the sun (i. e., from the east to the west), all, being subdued by its arms, were in subjection" . . . *affluent*, "abounded" . . . *fuere tamen cives*, "yet there were citizens:" — *qui* . . . *perditum irent*, lit., "who were going to destroy," i. e., "were bent on destroying." § 148. 1. Obs. 1.—4. *Senati*, genitive for *senatus*, Ch. XXX., 2: — *neque pramio*, &c. As the verbs *patefecerat* and *discesserat*, have a common subject, *quisquam*, and are connected by *neque*, the strict arrangement would be, *quisquam omnium* . . . *neque patefecerat*, &c. But as this does not give a proper English sentence, it is better to place the negative with *quisquam*, giving a negative subject, which will leave the force of *aut* to connect the verbs; thus, *neque quisquam omnium patefecerat conjurationem*, *neque* (i. e., *aut*), &c., "not any one of all either had disclosed the conspiracy, or," &c.

XXXVII.—1. *Aliena*, "Disaffected." — 2. *Id adeo more suo*, &c., "Nay, they even seemed to do this according to their custom." They were desirous of change, in the hope that their condition, seldom good, might be improved by it: *adeo* is emphatic. — 3. *Bonis invident*, "They hate the good," i. e., the quiet, respectable, and wealthy: — *malos*, "the evil," i. e., the restless, turbulent, and factious: — *turba*, "in confusion:" — *egestas facile habetur*, "poverty is easily kept," i. e., poor people, having nothing to lose, do not suffer by revolutions as others do. — 4. *Ea vero*, "This in particular." For the reasons following, the elements of revolution will ever be found most abundant among the reckless and unprincipled city poor, and to draw attention to this fact, *ea* with *vero*, though a sort of pleonasm, is added to *urbana plebes* (*plebs*): — *præeeps ierat* (§ 98, Obs. 10), scil., into the designs of Catiline. — 5. *Præstabant*, "Were notorious," lit., "stood foremost:" — *per dedecora*, "by disgraceful excesses:" — *in sentinam*, "into a common sink," a place where every thing filthy settles. — 6. *Deinde*. In this chapter, five classes are described: the description of the first is introduced by *primum omnium*—of the second by *deinde*—of the third and fourth each by *præterea*—and of the fifth by *ad hoc*: — *alios* (scil. *fieri*)—*alios*, "some—others." § 98, Obs. 12. — 7. *Manuum mereede inopiam toleraverat*, "Had supported themselves in poverty by the wages of manual labor:" — *privatis atque publicis largitionibus*, scil., the largesses in money and provisions with which the state supported the needy population of the

capital, and with which wealthy and ambitious citizens sought to increase the number of their clients.—These were constantly attracting the poor from the country to Rome, and increasing the city *plebs*. — 8. *Rei publicæ juxta ac sibi consuluisse*, “Cared for the state just as they cared for themselves:” i. e. as little for the one as for the other. § 149, Obs. 6. — 9. *Quorum*. Connect *quorum* with *parentes*, and *bona* and *jus*: — *victoria Sulla*, “upon the victory of Sulla:” — *jus libertatis imminutum erat*. Sulla had ordered that the sons of those whom he had proscribed should be ineligible to office, and in this respect, they were still deprived of the rights of citizens. — 10. *Aliarum atque senatus partium erant*, “Belonged to parties other than those of the senate.” § 149, Obs. 6: — *quam (se) minus valere ipsi*, “than that they themselves should have less power.” § 98, Exc. 5. — 11. *Id adeo malum*, “To such a degree had that evil;” scil., a spirit of insurrection, fomented by the bitterness of faction and party spirit.

XXXVIII.—1. *Cn. Pompeio*, &c. § 146, Obs. 10: — *tribunicia potestas restituta est*. The office of tribunes of the people was instituted on the occasion of the first secession to Mons Sacer, B. C. 493 (Ch. XXXIII., 5), to protect the rights of the commons. This power, great at first, was afterwards carried to an extravagant height, till it was greatly abridged by Sulla, and continued so, till, as here mentioned, it was in a great measure restored in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus. This restoration, though hailed with favor by the people, was disapproved by Cicero and others, and it is certain that from this time the tribunes became mere tools in the hands of the ambitious and powerful. — 2. *Summam potestatem*, “Vast power,”—not the chief power of the state, for that was lodged in the consuls, but the highest degree of the tribunician power: — *feri*, “became,” Hist. inf. — 3. *Senatus specie*, “Under pretence (of supporting the power) of the senate.” — 4. *Paucis verum absolvam*, “I may state the truth in a few words:” — *quicunque*, like *ὅστις* in Greek, and *whosoever* in English, contains a double subject = *omnes qui*. Of these, *omnes* is the subject of *certabant*, and *qui*, of *agitavere*. § 99, Obs. 7;—again *omnes* is divided into two classes by *alii—pars*, “some—others,” and again into individuals by *quisque*, “each.” § 98, Exc. 4. Note that *alii—pars*, and *pars—alii* are sometimes used for *alii—alii*: — *modestia*, “moderation,” *modus*, “limit.”

XXXIX.—1. *Maritimum*, i. e., the war against the Cilician pirates. This was finished in 40 days: *Mithridaticum*, the war against Mithridates, king of Pontus. This war from first to last, lasted nine years, and was successfully terminated by Pompey, B. C. 65, when Pontus was formed into a Roman province: — *imminuta (sunt)*, “declined.” **2.** *Hi*, “These,” scil., “the few:” — *tenere, agere, terrere*, hist. inf.: *innocui* (used passively), “unharm’d,” “in safety:” — *ceteros judicis terrere*, “the rest (i. e., the other patricians who courted popular favor), they overawed by judicial processes:” — *quo plebem*, &c., “that, when in office (scil., of the tribuneship), they might manage the people more gently,”—not stirring them up against the rulers, lest, when out of office, they too might be harassed by prosecutions. — **3.** *Dubius rebus*, “Affairs being in an unsettled state.” § 146, Obs. 10: — *novandi spes*, “the hope of effecting a change of government:” — *vetus certamen*, “the old contest,” scil., between the patricians and the plebeians. — **4.** *Quodsi*, “And if:” — *discessisset*, “had come off:” — *neque illis = neque tamen illis*: — *qui plus posset*, “a third party more powerful,” lit., “one who could do more:” — *extorqueret*, “would have wrested.” § 45, II., 2. — **5.** *Extra conjunctionem*, “not connected with the conspiracy.” — **6.** *Parens necari jussit*. Among the Romans, a father had the power of life and death over his own children: — **7.** *Quoscunque = omnes quos*, the first of which is governed by *sollicitabat*, and the second is the subject of *esse* understood before *idoneos*. See Ch. XXXVIII., 4: — *sollicitabat*, “attempted to gain over.” § 44, II., 2: — *cujusque modi genus hominum*, “any sort of men,” lit., “a class of men of any sort.”

XL.—1. *Uti legatos Allobrogum requirat*, “To sound the deputies of the Allobroges.” The Allobroges inhabited the country from Lake Lemannus and the Rhone, as far south as the Isara. They were subject to Rome, but, with a certain degree of independence, they governed themselves within their own country. Their chief towns were Vienna and Geneva: — *ad societatem belli*, “to a confederacy in the war.” — **2.** *Negotiatus erat*, “Had traded,” and of course had lived some time there: — *plerisque principibus civitatum*, scil., *Gallicarum*, “to most of the leading men of the Gallic states.” — **3.** *Percontatus pauca*, “After asking a few things:” — *quem exitum sperarent*. § 140, 5. — **4.** *Illos videt queri*, “He saw that they complained.” § 44, I., 3: — *senatum*, scil., of Rome: — *rationem*, “a way,” “a method:” — *qua tanta ista mala effugatis*,

“by which you may escape these your so great misfortunes.” *Iste* is the demonstrative of the second person, and shows that the word to which it belongs expresses something belonging to, or connected with, the person addressed. § 31, Obs. 2: — *ut sui miseretur*, “that he would take pity on them.” § 108, R. xiii. — 5. *D. Bruti*, “Of Decimus Brutus,”—the father of the well-known D. Junius Brutus, and the husband of Sempronia, an accomplice of Catiline. Ch. XXV. Brutus probably had no knowledge of the conspiracy:—*neque aliena consilii*, “and not unfriendly to the design,” i. e., friendly to it. § 107, R. xi. — 6. *Gabinium*. This was a Roman of equestrian rank, and one of the most worthless of Catiline’s accomplices. — 7. *Innoxios*, “Innocent:” — *quo legatis*, &c., “to inspire the deputies with greater courage.” § 112, R. ii: — *domum*, the accusative of the place whither. § 130, 4.

XLI.—1. *In altera parte*, “On the one side,” scil., that of Catiline: — *in altera (parte)*, “on the other,” scil., that of the senate. — 2. *Cujus patrocinio*, “Whose patronage.” In the latter part of the republic, cities and whole nations, provinces of, or in alliance with the Romans, made choice of some illustrious individual or family at Rome as their patron, who acted as their protector, took an interest in their affairs, and supported their cause when it came before the senate. The Allobroges were under the patronage of the Fabian family, and their patron at this time was Q. Fabius Sanga. — 3. *Ut studium*, &c., “To make great pretensions of zeal for the conspiracy:” — *ceteros adeant*, “to go to the rest,” scil., of the conspirators. § 136, R. lii.: — *uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant*, “to have them as clearly detected as possible.” When the subjunctive with *ut* is used for the infinitive (§ 145, Obs. 5.), it will often be better to translate it by the infinitive in English.

XLII.—1. *Gallia citeriore*. Hither or Cisalpine Gaul lay south of the Alps, and formed the northern part of Italy. Thither or Transalpine Gaul lay north and west of the Alps, now the kingdoms of France and Belgium: — *Bruttium*, the southern peninsula of Italy extending towards Sicily: — *Apulia*, a country of Southern Italy (Magna Græcia) on the Hadriatic sea: — *motus erat*, “there was a commotion.” — 2. *Quos Catilina dimiserat*. Ch. XXVII.: — *cuncta simul agebant*, “commenced doing all things at once.” See Ch. XXX.: — *armorum atque telorum*, “of all kinds of weapons.” When these

words are distinguished, the former means defensive, and the latter offensive armor. In a general sense, *arma* means all sorts of implements for any purpose. — 3. *Causa cognita*, &c., "After trial, had cast into prison many of that number:" — *item in ulteriore Gallia*, &c., "and likewise C. Murena, who as deputy (scil., of his brother L. Murena, now consul elect) was governor of that province, did the same thing;" *item* often carries in it a repetition of a preceding clause: here = *complures in vincula conjecerat*.

XLIII.—1. *Lentulus cum ceteris . . . constituerant*. § 102, Obs. 2: — *in agrum Fæsulanum venisset*, "should come (§ 45. iv.) into the country of Fæsulæ." Ch. XXIV., 2: — *invidiam*, "the blame," "the odium." — 2. *Eo signo* (i. e., *eo signo dato*), "Upon that signal:" — *proxima nocte*, "next night;" abl. of time when. The time agreed upon for these horrid deeds was one of the nights of the Saturnalia, which commenced on the 17th of December. The conspiracy, however, was discovered on the 8th Nov., the leading conspirators were arrested on the night of the 2d Dec. and put to death on the 5th Dec.: — *suum quisque negotium*, "each his own part." § 98, Exc. 4. — 3. *Sed ea* (scil., *negotia*) *divisa (esse) hoc modo dicebantur*, "Moreover these parts are said to have been apportioned in this way," namely, "that Statilius," &c. *Sed* is often used by Sallust instead of *autem*, to express transition only, and not opposition. See another example below: — *incenderent*, "should set fire to:" — *obsideret*, from *obsido*: — *alius autem alium*, scil., *aggrederetur*. § 98, Obs. 11. — 4. *Sed filii familiarum*, "Also that the sons of families." This expression means sons yet forming part of their father's household, and who had not yet households of their own. — 5. *Inter hæc parata atque decreta*, "During these preparations and resolvings." § 146, Obs. 2: — *dies prolatando*, "by putting off days," not a short time only, but *days*. — 6. *Natura*, "By nature;" abl. of cause: — *manu promptus*, "prompt in action." See Ch. XXXII., 3.

XLIV.—1. *Per Gabinium*, &c., "Through means of Gabinius, obtain an interview with the rest," scil., of the conspirators: — *convenio*, with an accusative, means "to speak to," "to have an interview with:" — *jusjurandum*, "a written oath;" *signatum*, "sealed," scil., with their respective seals. The purport of this oath, doubtless, was that they would perform their promise to them on receiving their assistance, should the enterprise succeed: — *eos*, "that they," scil.,

cives, "their countrymen." — 2. *Dant*, "They give it," scil., *jussurandum signatum*. — 3. *Crotoniensem*. A native of Crotona, in the territory of the Bruttii, on the Tarentine bay: — *domum pergerent*, "they should go home," scil., to their own country: — *fide*, "a pledge." — 4. *Litteras*, "A letter." Ch. XXXIV., 4. — 5. *Qui* (for *quis*, § 34, Obs. 1.) *sim*, "Who I am." § 140, 5. — 6. *Fac cogites*, "See that you consider." § 140, Obs. 5. In like manner *memineris* (§ 84, Obs. 2.), *consideres*, and *petas* depend on *fac*: — *tue rationes*, "your present circumstances:" — *ab infimis*, "from the lowest." He means the slaves, as the clause in the next sentence, *quo consilio servitia repudiet*, shows. Catiline, however, did not take this part of the advice, as it is well known there were no slaves in his army. Cicero in his third Oration against Catiline, Ch. V., gives this letter somewhat differently, probably as he quoted from memory, giving its meaning in different words. — 7. *Mandata verbis*, "A verbal message:" — *propius*, scil., *urbem*, "nearer to the city." § 136, Obs. 5.

XLV.—1. *Cuncta edoctus*, "Having been informed of every thing." § 126, R. iv.: — *In ponte Mulvio*. This was a bridge across the Tiber, about one mile from the city at the commencement of the *via Flaminia* which led from Rome to Ariminum: — *comitatus*, "the retinue:" — *cetera, uti &c.*, "as to the rest, he permits them to act in such a way as there might be need of acting:" — *uti*, adverb "as." — 2. *Illi*, "They," namely the prætors: — *obsidunt*, "beset." The men were planted in ambuscade (*per insidias*) at each end of the bridge, so that when the Gauls were on the bridge, and the ambuscade arose, there was no escape, either by advancing or retreating. — 3. *Ad id loci* (§ 106, R. viii.) = *ad eum locum*, viz., the centre of the bridge: — *cito*, "instantly." The Gauls, having understood beforehand that they would all be arrested not far from the city, as soon as they heard the shout of those lying in ambush, understood it at once, and of course made no resistance. — 4. *Multa Pomptinum obtestatus*, § 124, R. xxx.; *multa*, lit., "many things," i. e., "earnestly." The conduct of Volturcius here was itself proof of his guilt.

XLVI.—1. *Intellegens* (old form for *intelligens*), "Because he knew:" — *dubitans*, "because he was in doubt." For this use of the participle, see § 146, Obs. 6, last part. — 2. *Perdundæ rei publicæ fore*, "Would tend to the destruction of the state." Comp.

Ch. VI., 8, with ref. — 3. *Confirmato animo*, "Assuming courage:" — *Terracinensem*, "A native of Terracina," a city of Latium. — 4. *Cognito indicio*, "Having got notice of the discovery:" — *reliquos*, scil., *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, &c., as above. — 5. *Eo*, "Thither," i. e., to the temple of Concord. The senate could not meet but in a temple, or place consecrated by the augurs, that their deliberations might thereby be rendered more solemn. The usual place of meeting was the *Curia Hostilia*; but on the present occasion, they were summoned to this temple, which was close by the Forum where the people assembled in great numbers, and to whom, at the close of the meeting, Cicero came forth and stated what had been done. This forms Cicero's third Oration against Catiline. This temple was erected by Camillus in accordance with a vow on account of the re-establishment of harmony between the senate and the people. Hence its name. — 6. *Scriniū*, "The box."

XLVII.—1. *Quid, aut qua, &c.* Arrange and supply, *Quid consilii habuisset, aut de qua causa (id consilii habuisset)*, "What design he had entertained, or for what reason he had entertained it:" — *fingere alia*, "he pretended things other than the truth." — 2. *Fide publica*, scil., *ei data*, "The public faith being pledged for his safety:" — *socium adscitum*, "having been admitted as an associate:" — *quam legatos (scire)*, "than the deputies knew." — 3. *Coarguunt*, "Convict:" — *ex libris Sibyllinis*, "according to the Sibylline books." These books were supposed to contain the fate of the empire. After the three books, purchased by Tarquin from the Erythræan Sibyl, had perished in the conflagration of the Capitol,—B. C. 83,—ambassadors were sent every where to collect the oracles of the Sibyls. From the verses thus collected the Quindecemviri made out new books, which were deposited in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill. One of these Oracles stated that "three K's (Lat. C's) should reign at Rome. This the Greeks interpreted of the Cappadocians, Cilicians, and Cretans; but the Romans applied them to three persons of the Cornelian gens: — *Cinnam atque Sullam* (both belonging to the Cornelian gens) *antea*, scil., *urbis potitos esse*. § 121, Exc. 2. — 4. *Ab incenso Capitolio*, "From the burning of the Capitol." § 146, Obs. 2. The Capitol was burnt three times—once before this, B. C. 83, to which the reference is here made, and twice afterwards: — *vigesimum annum*, scil., since the Capitol was burnt: — *Haruspices*. Priests who examined the victims and their entrails, after they were sacrificed,

and from these derived omens of futurity; as also from the flame, smoke, and other circumstances attending the sacrifices. — 5. *Signa sua cognovissent*, “Had acknowledged their own seals:” — *abdicate magistratu*, “having resigned his office,” scil., in order to trial. A magistrate could not be put on trial while in office. Some editions have *abdicatus*, &c., “being deposed from office;” but as this was in order to trial, though not entirely voluntary, it was his own act, which is better expressed by *abdicate magistratu*. — 6. *In liberis custodiis*, “In free custody,” or as we would say, “were held to bail.” This was done either when the accused were persons of rank, or were many in number. Those in whose custody they were placed, were held responsible for their appearance to be tried.

XLVIII.—1. *Exsecrari, tollere, agitabat*. Such transitions from the historical infinitive to the imperfect, and *vice versa* are common in Sallust. The change in the feelings of the common people here described, was effected by the discoveries made to them by Cicero, in his speech delivered after the meeting of the senate. Ch. XLVI., 5. — 2. *Alia belli facinora prædæ (sibi)*, &c., “That other deeds of war would bring to them booty, rather than loss:” — *immoderatum*, “exceeding all bounds:” — *quippe cui*, &c., “since all their means consisted in articles for daily use, and in clothing for the body.” — 3. *Quem . . . retractum (esse) aiebant*, “Who they said was brought back.” § 145, Obs. 2: — *de paratis incendiis*. § 146, Obs. 2: — *missum a M. Crasso*. See Ch. XVII., 5: — *qui Catilinæ nuntiaret*, “to tell Catiline.” § 141, Obs. 2, 4th. — 4. *Ne* (in oblique narration = *ut non*). Arrange thus, *Ut Lentulus et Cethegus, aliique ex conjuratione (= conjuratorum) deprehensi non terrentur cum*. — 5. *Tanta vis hominis*, &c., “It seemed that a man of so great power (lit., so great power of a man) ought to be propitiated rather than provoked.” Though *videbatur* is not impersonal, it may be translated impersonally, and its subject after it, as if it were the subject of an infinitive following it. See Idioms prefixed to Latin Reader and Cæsar, No. 70: — *plerique Crasso*, &c., “many being under obligations to Crassus in their private business.” Being a man of great wealth, many were indebted to him for accommodations extended to them: — *conclamant*, “(all) cry out.” — 6. *Deque ea re postulant uti referatur* (scil., *ad se*), “And demand that it should be referred to them (the senate) to decide concerning that matter,” namely, whether his statement respecting Crassus was true or false. Before the senate could decide any thing by a vote, it

must first be brought regularly before them by the proper magistrate, commonly the consul presiding. — 7. *Consulente (senatum) Cicerrone*, lit., “Cicero consulting the senate,” i. e., “On Cicero’s putting the question,”—“asking their opinion:” — *neque amplius (indicandi) potestatem faciundam (esse)*, “and that power of giving further information should not be given to him.” *Facere potestatem* means “to give power.” — 8. *Immissum (esse)*, “Was instigated:” — *suscepto malorum patrocinio*, “by undertaking the defence of the worthless.” § 146, Obs. 2: — *prædicantem*, “declaring openly.”

XLIX.—1. *Q. Catulus et C. Piso*. Both of these had enjoyed the consulship, and were persons of distinction at Rome, but cherished inveterate hatred to C. Cæsar—the latter, because when on trial for extortion (Ch. XVIII., 4), he had been attacked by Cæsar on account of the unjust punishment of one who lived beyond (i. e., on the north of) the Po;—the former, because when a candidate for the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, he had been beaten by Cæsar though quite a young man, and in this way they sought their revenge: — *neque gratia neque pretio*, “neither by their influence nor by bribery:” — *nominaretur*, “should be named,” scil., by Cicero. — 2. *Oppugnatus*, “Because he had been attacked. § 146, Obs. 6; so *incensus* next clause: — *Ex petitione pontificatus*, “ever since the canvass for the pontificate.” — 3. *Ab adolescentulo Cæsare*, “By Cæsar a very young man,” i. e., young in comparison with Catulus, for he was then in his 37th year. — 4. *Res autem opportuna videbatur*, “The opportunity, however, seemed favorable,” scil., for them to injure the reputation of Cæsar, because his being deeply involved in debt would give plausibility to the representations they intended to set afloat respecting his being concerned in the conspiracy. — 5. *Publice maximis muneribus*, “In public by the most splendid exhibitions.” *Munera* were public games or gladiatorial exhibitions given by private individuals or magistrates, by means of which they sought to win the favor of the people. Those here referred to were the exhibitions given by Cæsar in his ædileship, during which it is said 320 pair of gladiators were brought forth, and other expensive diversions furnished for the amusement of the people. The consequence was an immense debt, at one time, by his own account, one hundred million sesterces (over four millions of dollars). — 6. *Ipsi singulatim circumeundo*, &c., “They themselves by going about separately and forging stories which, as they said, they had heard,” &c.: — *que se . . . audisse dicerent*,

2 peculiar construction frequently used by Cicero = *quæ audivissent* . . . *ut dicebant*. § 141, Obs. 7, Note: — *animi nobilitate*, "by a noble impulse."

L.—1. *Liberti*, "The freedmen,"—so called in relation to the manumitter, but *libertini* in relation to all others. *Liberti Lentuli*, then, means persons made free by Lentulus, and of course devoted to him in gratitude for their liberty: — *Pauci ex clientibus*. § 107, Obs. 8. See Ch. XXVI., 5: — With *sollicitabant* supply *partim*, corresponding to *partim* in the next clause: — *duces multitudinum*, "leaders of mobs." — 2. *Familiam*, "His family," i. e., "his slaves." — 3. *Refert*, "Refers it to them," "brings forward the question for their decision," scil., *quid de his*, &c. — 4. *Judicaverat*, "Had found," "had decided:" — *ecce . . . contra rem publicam fecisse*, "that they had acted as enemies to the state." — 5. *Sententiam rogatus*. § 126, R. iv: — *consul designatus*, "consul elect." Ch. XVIII., 3: — *de his . . . supplicium sumendum decreverat*, "had given his opinion that capital punishment should be inflicted on those," &c. — 6. *Pedibus in sententiam*, &c., "That he would go into the opinion (vote for the proposal) of Tib. Nero." The allusion in the expression is to the manner of voting *per discessionem*—by separation, or division of the house; those in favor of the opinion of one person went with him to a particular part of the house, and those in favor of the opinion of another, went with him to another part, as the presiding officer directed. The order of things here stated seems to have been this: Silanus, consul elect, at first was for capital punishment:—Tiberius Nero (the grandfather of Tiberius who was made emperor A. D. 14) opposed capital punishment, at least for the present, recommended that they should be held in custody, the guards strengthened, and when the conspiracy should be put down, they would then resume and decide the question. Cæsar was opposed to capital punishment altogether, and advised imprisonment for life. His speech (see next chapter) was ingenious, able, and plausible; and gained over many of the senators, among the rest Silanus, who changed his views, and gave notice he would support the opinion of Tib. Nero. Cicero then rose and delivered what is now his fourth Catilinarian oration, in which he urged prompt and vigorous action, without stating definitely what that action should be, but evidently favoring the severest measures. He failed to withdraw the majority, however, from the opinion of Cæsar, till Lutatius Catulus, the inveterate enemy of Cæsar, and especially Cato, then tribune elect

of the commons, by powerful efforts turned the scale. For the speech of Cato see Ch. LII., and its results, Ch. LIII. — 7. *Hujuscemodi verba locutus est*, "Spoke to this effect." The word *hujuscemodi* intimates that the speech of Cæsar which follows is not to be considered as given in his very words, but only as to the general sense of it as near as could be remembered.

LI.—1. *Patres Conscripti*—a title by which the senators assembled were addressed, supposed to have been originally *Patres et Conscripti*. By *Patres* is meant members of the senate as originally constituted by Romulus, and by *Conscripti*, those afterwards added by Brutus. — 2. *Neque quisquam omnium*, &c., "And of all men, no one has ever been subservient to his passions, and his interest at the same time." The term *libido*, in its general sense, means *desire, feeling, inclination*; and to act *ex libidine* is to act under the influence of feeling or passion, such as anger, fear, pity, or the like, as opposed to acting from sound judgment and discretion, or a sense of duty or propriety. — 3. *Ubi intenderis ingenium*, scil., *in verum*. — 4. *Male consuluerint*, "Have formed bad resolutions." — 5. *Ne quis divitiarum*, &c., "That no one might say the war was undertaken more on account of their riches, than of any injury (done to us)." — 6. *Per inducias*, "During the time of a truce:" — *per occasionem*, "when opportunity offered:" — *talia fecere*, "retaliated," lit., "did such things," scil., to them, as they did to us. — 7. *Neu consulatis*, "And that you do not consult." — 8. *Digna pro factis*. § 119, Explanation: — *novum consilium*, "the new measures." Cæsar here represents it as something new to punish with death for political offences, as Silanus proposed. But this was not precisely so; for Cicero represents Silanus as reminding the senate *hoc genus pœnæ sæpe in improbos cives esse usurpatum* (IV.Or. in Cat., Ch. IV): — *utendum his*, scil., imprisonment and exile. — 9. *Pati, quæ* (i. e., *ea quæ*), "Suffered such indignities as." § 31, Obs. 2, last part. — 10. *An (eo pertinuit) uti vos*, &c., "Was this its object, to make you hostile to the conspiracy?" — *Scilicet*, "Yes, forsooth." This word is here strongly ironical: — *eas gravius æquo habuere*, "have felt them too severely," lit., "have regarded them more seriously than was right." — 11. *Alia aliis licentia est*, "All have not the same freedom;" lit., "one degree of freedom is to some persons, and another to others." § 98, Obs. 11: — *demissi*, "in humble station:" — *iracundiâ*, ablative of cause: — *studere*, "to favor:" — *paulo severior*. § 134, Obs. 6, 2d. — 12. *Studio rei publicæ*,

"From zeal for the republic:" — *inimicitias*, "enmity;" seldom used in the singular: — *eos (esse) mores*, "that such are the manners." — 13. *Aliena a re publica nostra*, "Foreign (not adapted) to our government." — 14. *Id quod res habet*, lit., "That which the thing has," i. e., "that which is certain;" viz., &c.: — *ærumnarum requiem*, "a rest from sorrows:" — *ultra* (scil., *mortem*), "beyond this." Cæsar here expresses the opinion of not a few among the ancients, "that death is the end of our existence." — 15. *An quia lex Porcia vetat?* The Porcian law passed B. C. 299, ordained that no one should bind, scourge, or kill a Roman citizen; but that, in capital cases, the alternative of exile should be granted: — *tanti facinoris convictos*. § 126, R. i. — 16. *Qui convenit, &c.?* "How is it consistent that you should regard the law in a less matter?" scil., punishing with stripes. — 17. *At enim*. This expression shows an ellipsis of an objection introduced by *at*, the reason of which is introduced by *enim*; thus, "But," some one will say, What need of this discussion, "for who," &c.?—Or more briefly, "But after all, who, &c.?" (I answer) a time, a day, fortune will reprove us," i. e., some future time, some critical occasion will arrive, when advantage will be taken of this as a precedent to pursue a course which may then prove dangerous, and so reprove the course you now adopt. — 18. *Quid in alios statuatis*, "What you determine against others;" i. e., the decision you now make against these conspirators—just in their case—may be a decision against others, and as a precedent be made use of to sanction great abuses, and great injustice: — *ex bonis*, scil., *exemplis*: — *ab dignis* (scil., *pœna*) *et idoneis*, "from proper and fit subjects of punishment, to others not deserving punishment, and not fit" to be treated in this way. — 19. *Triginta viros*, "Thirty men," who turned out very soon to be thirty tyrants, B. C. 404: — *ea populus letari*, "at these things the people rejoiced." § 116, Obs. 3, and § 101, Obs. 6. — 20. *Damasippum*. This was a prætor of the Marian party in the consulship of Papirius Carbo, B. C. 82, who indulged in many cruel excesses against the followers of Sulla: — *proscriptorum*, "of those proscribed," viz., by Sulla. See Ch. V., 5. — 21. *Trahebantur*, scil., *ad mortem*: — 22. *Atque ego non vereor*, "I certainly do not fear." *Atque* is frequently used as here in an intensive sense. — 23. *Potest alio tempore, &c.* Arrange, *Alio tempore, &c.*—*aliquid falsum potest credi pro vero*: — *hoc exemplo*, "under this precedent." — 24. *Quo minus imitarentur*, "From imitating." § 45, II., 3. — 25. *Sumpserunt*, "They borrowed:" — *imitari quam invidere bonis*, "to imitate rather

than to envy the good." *Bonis* (scil., *hominibus*,—others prefer *institutis*), in the dative, depends for its case on the verb nearest it: *imitari* would require the accusative. It is common, in such constructions, to repeat the word after each verb, in the case which the verb requires. — 26. *Imitati*, "Imitating." § 49, 5, Note 1: — *de condemnatis*, &c. In the expression *sumere supplicium de*, the punishment inflicted is regarded as a satisfaction or atonement taken or received from the offender. — 27. *Quibus legibus*. § 99, Obs. 1, 3d. — 28. *Hanc ego causam*, &c., "I think this a very special reason why we should not adopt new measures." — 29. *Sed ita censeo*, "But my opinion is this:" — *neu quis*, "and that no one."

LII.—1. *Ceteri*, &c., "The rest" (scil., of the senators) assented verbally, one senator to one speaker, and another to another, "variously." This was done by saying '*assentior*,' scil., *Silano, Neroni, Casari*, &c., as the case might be. Sallust takes no notice here of the speeches of Catulus and Cicero: — 2. *M. Porcius Cato*, was the great-grandson of Cato the Censor. He was a man of stern integrity, a brave soldier, and an able general. Through his firm support, chiefly, Cicero was enabled, in opposition to Cæsar and others, to bring the accomplices of Catiline to capital punishment. After the defeat of Juba and Scipio by Cæsar in the battle of Thapsus, he put an end to his life at Utica. Hence he was called Cato Uticensis. — 3. *Longe mihi alia mens est*, "I have a very different opinion:" — *aris atque focis*, lit., "their altars and their hearths," i. e., "their religion and their homes." — 4. *Cetera maleficia*, "As to other crimes"—*hoc*, "as to this:" *maleficia* is properly the object of *persequere*, and *hoc*, the subject of *accidat*: — *judicia*, "the (aid of the) tribunals:" — *nihil reliqui fit*, "nothing is left." § 106, Obs. 8. — 5. *Pluris . . . fecistis*, "Have made of greater account," "have valued more." § 122, R. xxviii.: — *ista*, referring to *domos, villas*, &c. § 99, Obs. 3: see also Ch. XL., 4, with ref. It carries with it here an expression of contempt. § 28, Obs. 3, 3d, ad fin. — 6. *Non agitur*, "The question is not:" — *multa verba in hoc ordine feci*, "I have spoken much in this senate;" *facere verba* means "to speak," "to make a speech:" — *adversos (mihi)*, "opposed to me:" — *qui mihi*, &c., (*qui* has for its antecedent *ego* understood, the subject of *condonabam*), "I who had forgiven no fault at any time to myself, and to my own inclination, certainly did not readily pardon crimes to gratify the lust of another." The imperfect sometimes expresses what was usual or cus-

tomary. § 44, II., 1. — 7. *Opulentia negligentiam tolerabat*, "Its wealth brooked your remissness," i. e., such were the resources of the state, that the negligence of individuals did not materially affect it. — 8. *Nunc vero non id agitur*, "That is not now the question:" — *vivamus, sit, futura sint*. § 140, 5: — *sed (num) hæc, &c.*, "but whether these things, of whatever sort they appear to be, are to belong to us, or, together with ourselves, to be the prey of our enemies." — 9. *Hic mihi, &c.*, "And here some one speaks to me of clemency and mercy!" alluding to the speech of Cæsar: — *equidem*, here as below for *quidem*, a usage quite common in Sallust. *Equidem* (= *ego quidem*) is used properly only when the verb is in the first person singular; *quidem* is used in all other cases: — *liberalitas, fortitudo*. § 103, R. v.: — *eo . . . in extremo (loco)*, "in such an extremity," lit., "to such a degree is the state placed in extremity." — 10. *Sint sane*, "Let them be indeed." § 42, Obs. 4 and 5: — *ita se . . . habent*. See Ch. II., 3: — *perditum eant*, "hasten to destroy." § 148, 1. *Ne*, in the beginning of the sentence, negatives *eant*, as well as *largiantur*, and *et* connects them thus negatived. Instead of *et*, *neu* might have been used. — 11. *Credo*, "I suppose," is parenthetic, and does not affect the construction of the other words in the sentence: — *de inferis*, "concerning the dead," namely, *diverso itinere malos, &c.*, "that the wicked, their route being different from that of the good, inhabit places dismal," &c. Ch. LI., 14. — 12. *Popularibus conjurationis*, "By their associates in the conspiracy." — 13. *Solus non tinet, &c.*, "He (Cæsar) alone has no fear, it is the more necessary that I should be concerned for myself and for you." There seems here to be an insinuation that if Cæsar was without apprehension, it might arise from his not being averse to the conspiracy. — 14. *Quanto . . . tanto, &c.*, "The more vigorously you act in the present case, the less will their courage be." § 132, R. xliii., and Obs. 6: — *armis (scil., tantum)*, "by arms alone." — 15. *Quæ nulla, "None of which:"* — *animus in consulendo, &c.*, "a mind unfettered in deliberation, awed neither by a sense of guilt, nor by passion." — 16. *Omnia virtutis præmia*, "All the rewards of merit," scil., civil and military offices. — 17. *Ubi vos separatim, &c.*, "When you separately take measures, each one for himself, when at home you are slaves to pleasure, here (in the senate), to money or favor:" — *vacuam, scil., defensoribus*, "unprotected," "defenceless." — 18. *Patriam incendere*, "To fire the city:" — *supra caput est*, "is close at hand:" — *cuncta-mini etiamnunc, &c.?* "do ye even now hesitate what you should do to

enemies?" &c. § 112, R. xvii., and Expl. : — *faciatis*. § 140, 5. — **19.** *Miscreamini, censeo*, "I suppose you should pity them," spoken ironically, as well as what follows. — **20.** *Na ista vobis*, &c. Arrange, *Nec ista mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi ceperint arma, convertet* (intr.) *in miseriam vobis*. § 110, R. xv. Expl. — **21.** *Scilicet res ipsa aspera est*, &c., "The crisis indeed is dangerous, but (you profess) you do not fear it:" — *immo vero maxime*, scil., *eam timetis*, "nay, indeed, you fear it very much:" — *alius alium expectantes*, "waiting one for another." — **22.** *Non votis*, &c., (*sed*) *vigilando*, &c. : — *implores*, i. e., *erit ut implores*. § 42, Obs. 5. — **23.** *Bello Gallico*. Sallust is evidently in error here. The fact here mentioned took place not in the Gallie, but in the Latin war, B. C. 340: — *morte pœnas dedit*, "made atonement (for his rashness) by his death." — **24.** *Videlicet cetera vita*, &c., "No doubt the rest of their lives stands opposed to this wickedness." This, with what follows, is spoken ironically, and with reference probably to something said in extenuation of their crime by other speakers: — *iterum*, "a second time." What the *first* time, implied in this expression, was, is uncertain: probably, though not mentioned, he was concerned in the intended insurrection mentioned Ch. XVIII. — **25.** *Quibus si quidquam*, &c., "If they had ever had the least reflection:" — *si peccato locus esset*, "if there were room for the blunder:" — *faucibus urguet*, lit., "presses at our throats." — **26.** *De confessis . . . supplicium sunendum*. See above, Ch. LI., 26: — *manifestis*, "clearly guilty."

LIII.—1. *Sicuti ille censuerat*, "As he had advised," "in accordance with his opinion." — **2.** *Sed mihi multa legenti*, &c. This dative (*mihi*) depends on *libuit*. In translating, connect *præclara facinora* with *multa*, and omit after *quæ* (§ 99, Obs. 1, 2d); thus, *Sed mihi legenti multa, audienti multa præclara facinora, quæ*, &c., and render, "But I, by reading (§ 146, Obs. 6 last part) many, and hearing of many illustrious achievements, which, &c.,—was accidentally led to consider what had chiefly sustained such great undertakings." The conclusion to which he thus came was, that Rome had risen to its greatness by the surpassing merit of some individual citizens. See below, *mihi multa agitant*. — **3.** *Contendisse*, i. e., *illos*, sc. *Romanos contendisse*: — *agitant*, "reflecting on." — **4.** *Sicuti effeta parentum* = *effeta parens*. § 107, R. x. Expl., "As a mother past bearing." This sentence as it stands in the text is an instance of anacoluthon—a sentence beginning with one construction, and ending with

another: § 150, 3, 5th. The sentence carried out as it begins would stand thus: *Ac sicuti effeta parentum, multis tempestatibus, haud sane quemquam Roma virtute magnum protulit.* Arrange thus, *Ac Roma, sicuti effeta parentum, &c.* Some editions have *effeta parentum*, and some *effeta parente*: — *multis tempestatibus*, “for a long period.” — 5. *Quin* (= *ut non*).... *aperirem*, “Without portraying;” compare § 140, 3 with § 45, II., 3.

LIV.—1. *Genus*. Cæsar was of a patrician, and Cato, of a plebeian family; but the illustrious achievements of the latter raised it to an equality with the former: — *ætas*. Cato was 33, and Cæsar 37, at the time of this conspiracy: — *item gloria (par)*, *sed alia alii*, “their glory likewise was equal, but in each, of a different character;” lit., “but one kind of glory was to the one, and another to the other.” § 98, Obs. 11. — 2. *In altero—in altero*, “In the one (Cæsar)—in the other (Cato).” *Alius* properly means “one of many,”—*alter*, “one of two.” This distinction is not always observed, and sometimes, as here, both are used: — *illius facilitas*, “the yielding temper of the former:” — *hujus constantia*, “the firmness of the latter.” — 3. *Negligere, denegare*; historical infinitives mixed with the imperfect indicative: — *exoptabat*, “was always wishing.” § 44, II., 1. — 4. *Severitatis*, “Of strictness,” “of rigid virtue.” — 5. *Factione*, “In party spirit:” — *abstinentia*, “in sobriety:” — *quo minus*, “the less,”—*eo magis*, “the more.” § 132, R. xliii.—The parallel drawn between Cato and Cæsar, in this chapter, is considered one of the finest passages in this history.

LV.—1. *In Catonis sententiam discessit*. See Ch. L., 6: — *triumviros*—sometimes written *tresviros* or *treviros*, and in manuscripts *III-viros*—“the triumviri,” scil., the *triumviri capitales*, inferior magistrates, who had the charge of the public prison, executions, &c., and judged concerning slaves and persons of the lowest rank. — 2. *Quod Tullianum appellatur*, “Which is called Tullianum.” The relative here takes the gender of the word following in the relative clause, instead of *locus* in the antecedent clause. § 99, Obs. 4. The Tullianum—so called from Servius Tullius by whom it was built—was a dungeon or subterraneous apartment cut into the rock, and covered over with a roof. The prison was first built by Ancus Marcius, and afterwards enlarged by the addition of this dungeon by Servius Tullius. It was near the Forum, and is now a church called *San Pietro in car-*

cere: — *descenderis*. See Ch. II., 4, with ref. — 3. *Camera lapideis fornicibus vincta*, "A vaulted roof secured by stone arches:" — *incultu*, "from neglect," hence "filth." — 4. *Vindices rerum capitalium*, lit., "The punishers of capital offences," i. e., "the executioners," scil., the *triumviri capitales*. — 5. *De Cethego . . . supplicium sumptum est*, "Punishment was inflicted on Cethegus," &c. See Ch. LI., 26. This summary proceeding on the part of Cicero, putting these men to death, on the sentence of the senate, without bringing the matter before the people, was seized upon by his enemies, and used to sustain the charge against him of putting Roman citizens to death contrary to law, and without a trial, the consequence of which was, he was forced to go into exile B. C. 48.

LVI.—1. *Ex omni copia* (scil., *hominum*), "Out of the entire force:" — *cohortes pro numero*, &c., "he fills up the cohorts according to the number of men (he had with him)." The number of men in a Roman legion was different at different times, ranging from 3000 to 6000 men. But whatever was the number, each legion was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three maniples, and each manipulus into three centuries; and when each century consisted of 100 men, as the name imports, the legion consisted of 6000. This however was seldom the case, and as Catiline's whole force now consisted of only about two thousand men, the legions formed would contain each only about one thousand, and the cohorts about one hundred: — *æqualiter*, "equally," i. e., between the two legions: — *legiones numero hominum expleverat*, "he had filled up the legions with the (usual) complement of men." — 2. *Instructa erat*, "Had been supplied:" — *sparos*, i. e. *alii sparos*, &c., "some, darts or lances—others, sharp pointed stakes;" here *alii*—*alii* distribute *ceteri*. — 3. *Antonius*, the colleague of Cicero in the consulship: — *modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam versus*, "turning sometimes towards the city," &c. — 4. *Servitia—cujus*, scil., *generis hominum*, "The slaves, of which class," &c. § 99, Exc. 1. — 5. *Alienum suis rationibus existimans* (se, § 145, Obs. 3,) *videri*, &c., "Thinking it inconsistent with his plans, to seem to have shared the cause of freemen with fugitive slaves." *Alienum* in the predicate belongs to the clause *videri causam*, &c., as a subject. § 98, Obs. 6.

LVII.—1. *Nuntius pervenit*, "The news came," = *nuntiatum est*: — *in agrum Pistoriensem*, "into the territory of Pistoria,"—in

the northern part of Etruria. — 2. *Præsidebat*, “Was posted” = *præsidio erat*: — *illa eadem*, “those same things,” viz., an escape into Gaul, probably into the country of the Allobroges. — 3. *Utpote qui*, &c., “Inasmuch as he, unimpeded in a more level country, followed him in his flight.” Some editions have *expeditos in fuga*, “unincumbered in flight,”—applied to the followers of Catiline, who in their haste had thrown away their baggage. But as this would be a reason for Antonius being at a great distance, rather than near at hand, the common reading, *expeditus*, is preferred. — 4. *Montibus atque copiis hostium*, &c. Antonius with a large army was close in his rear, Metellus, with his three legions, in front; and his own force was now greatly reduced: — *neque fugæ neque præsidii ullam spem*, “and that there was no hope either of escape or assistance.” *Neque* = *non aut* must sometimes be so resolved, as here, in rendering into English. See Ch. XXXVI., 4.

LVIII.—1. *Compertum habeo*. § 146, Obs. 1. — 2. *Moribus*, “By habit:” — *patere*, “to appear,” “to show itself.” — 3. *Hortere*, i. e., *licet ut hortere*, “You may exhort.” See Ch. XXV., 3, with ref.: — *auribus officit*, “obstructs his ears.” — 4. *Mei consilii*, “Of my resolution,” scil., to risk a battle with Antonius. — 5. *Quo que modo*, = *et quomodo*, “And how:” — *in quo loco*, “in what situation:” — *juxta mecum*, “equally with myself,” i. e., “as well as I do.” — 6. *Unus ab urbe*, namely, that of Antonius, *alter a Gallia*, scil., that of Metellus. See above, LVII., 4: — *si maxime animus ferat*, scil., *nos*, “if we should be ever so much inclined.” — 7. *Forti atque parato animo sitis*. § 106, R. vii. — 8. *Commeatus abunde (erunt)*, “Provisions in abundance:” — *neque (quisquam) locus*, &c. — 9. *Potuistis nonnulli*, &c., “Some of you at Rome, after losing your own property, might have looked for assistance from others,” lit., “foreign help:” — *intoleranda viris*, “not to be endured by men.” § 126, Obs. 3. *Viris* is here emphatic: — *hæc sequi*, “to follow these measures,” “this course,” namely, to take up arms to redress their wrongs. — 10. *Quis* (contr. for *quibus*), “With which:” — *averteris*. See above, 3: — *ea vero*, &c.; *ea* agreeing with *dementia*, instead of *id*, referring to the preceding clause, *in fuga salutem sperare*. Ch. VII., 5, with ref. — 11. *Me hortantur*, “Encourage me:” — *necessitudo*, scil., *me hortatur*. — 12. *Cavete (ne) amittatis*, “Take care that you lose not:” — *Sicuti pecora* (scil., *trucidantur*).

LIX.—1. *Signa canere*, “The signals to sound,” taking *canere* intransitively — taking it transitively it would be, “to sound the signals.” In either way the meaning is the same: — *ipse pedes*, “he himself on foot:” — *pro loco atque copiis*, “in accordance with the nature of the ground, and the number of his troops.” — 2. *Ab dextra rupe aspera*, “A craggy rock being on the right.” § 146, Obs. 10: — *reliquarum signa*, &c., “he places the troops (lit., “the standards,” each manipule having its *signum*) of the remaining (twelve) cohorts in closer order as a reserve.” — 3. *Ab his*, &c., “From these (scil., the troops in reserve) he withdraws to the front line all the centurions, the picked men, the veteran soldiers, and all the best of the common soldiers furnished with arms.” The *evocati* were veteran soldiers, who, after having served out their time, were invited (*evocati*) to serve again. They were exempt from the drudgery of camp service, occupied the place of honor in the field, and were usually distinguished for their skill and bravery. — 4. *Fæsulanum quendam*, “One belonging to Fæsula:” — *curare*, “to take command:” — *cum libertis et colonis*, “with his freedmen (see Ch. LI., 1), and the colonists of Sulla.” See Ch. XVI., 4. — 5. *Ex altera parte*, scil., on the side of the republic: — *pedibus æger*, “being lame:” — *legato*, “his lieutenant.” *Legatus* properly means “one sent abroad;” hence, “an ambassador;” also, a person chosen by a consul, proconsul, proprætor, or commander, when abroad, to assist him in his public duties, and, in case of his absence or inability, as here, to take his place and perform his duties. Sometimes he was sent abroad to perform the duties of his principal who remained at home; hence the name *legatus*. — 6. *Ille*, “That officer,” scil., Petreius: — *tumulti*, genitive for *tumultus*, as elsewhere *senati* for *senatus*. § 16, Obs. 2. — 7. (*Ille*) *ipse*, referring also to Petreius, but more emphatic, “He in person.” — 8. *Homo militaris . . . accendebat*, “Being a military man (an old soldier), &c., he fired the minds of the soldiers,” &c.

LX.—1. *Tuba*, “With the trumpet.” The *tuba* was a straight wind instrument used in giving signals to the infantry; signals to the cavalry were given by the *lituus*, an instrument bent at the lower end, resembling the augur’s staff. — 2. *Eo*, “To that place.” In this sense *eo* is the old dative singular of *is*, and is equivalent to *ei loco*: — *unde* = *a quo*: — *ferentariis*, “by the light-armed troops,” so called from *fero*, because the weapons used by them were thrown against the

enemy. — 3. *Illi haud timidi*, "They boldly," scil., the soldiers of Catiline: — *versari, succurrere, &c.*; historical infinitives, connected in construction with the imperfect indicative *exsequebatur*. The description here given of the activity of Catiline is graphic and exciting in the highest degree. — 4. *Contra ac ratus erat*, "Contrary to what (otherwise than) he expected." § 149, Obs. 6: — *cohortem prætoriam*. The prætorian cohort was a body of the ablest and most tried soldiers, intended to act as a body-guard to the commander-in-chief: — *alios alibi*, "some in one place and some in another," i. e., here and there, in scattered parties: — *utrimque ex lateribus*, "on both sides (right and left) by the flanks." — 5. *In primis*, "Among the first," i. e., early in the battle, connect with *cadunt*, not with *pugnantes*.

LXI.—1. *Cerneret*, "You might have seen." Ch. XXV., 3. — 2. *Medios*, "In the centre of the army:" — *paulo diversius*, "a little more scattered:" — *adversis vulneribus*, "with wounds in front," showing they were received when "turned towards" their enemy; as *aversis vulneribus* means, "wounds in the back," received when "turned from" their enemy, i. e., in fleeing. — 3. *Civis ingenuus*, "Free citizen." *Ingenuus* means one whose parents had always been free: — *juxta*, "alike," i. e., "equally little." — 4. *Strenuissimus quisque*, lit., "Each one most brave," i. e., "all the brave." § 98, Obs. 13. — 5. *Alii — pars*, "Some — others," distributive of *multi*. § 98, Obs. 12: — *fuere item, qui cognoscerent*, "some also recognized." § 141, Obs. 1. — 6. *Latitia, &c.* These four substantives contrast in pairs, the first with the third, and the second with the fourth. — *Latitia* means joy outwardly expressed; *gaudium*, the inward feeling of joy: so *luctus*, the expression of grief in wailing or lamentation; *mæror*, sadness, the inward feeling of grief.

This decisive battle put an end to the conspiracy of Catiline, which indeed was crushed before this by the arrest and punishment of his leading accomplices at Rome. It is impossible to say how extensive this organization against the state really was, or what the effect of its success would have been. Arrested promptly as it was, there can be no doubt the shock then sustained, hastened the fall of the Roman state. Among all who were engaged in ferreting out, and putting down the conspiracy, the highest praise unquestionably was due to the self-sacrificing patriotism, zeal, and talent of Cicero, then first consul. This was acknowledged then, and has been acknowledged ever since,

and yet no one would discover this from this history. Sallust from some cause has failed to do him justice; he mentions his name as seldom as possible; his labors and perseverance and dangers are passed by with the slightest notice; the applause bestowed on him by people of all ranks is never mentioned, and his fame is sought to be eclipsed by raising inferior and less efficient actors into a more conspicuous point of view. "This omission," says Mr. Dunlop, "has in all times been regarded as the chief defect, and even stain, in the history of the CATILINARIAN CONSPIRACY."

EXPLANATORY NOTES
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ON THE

JUGURTHINE WAR.

I.—1. *Falso*, “Unjustly,” “without reason:” — *humanum genus* = *homines*: — *cævi brevis*, “of short duration.” § 106, R. vii. — 2. *Reputando*, “By reconsidering,” “on reflection:” — *invenias*, “you will find,” a softened affirmation = *puto ut invenias*. § 139, 2: — *vim*, “power.” — 3. *Grassatur*, “Advances vigorously,” a frequentative from *gradior*: — *pollens potensque*, “powerful and vigorous:”—*pollens* refers to the existence of power,—*potens*, to its exercise: — *artes*, “qualities.” — 4. *Sin*, (*animus*) *captus*, &c., “But, if the mind enslaved by vicious passions is plunged into sloth:” — *paulisper*, “for a short time:” — *naturæ infirmitas accusatur*, “the weakness of nature is blamed;” by anacoluthon for *naturæ infirmitatem accusat*. — 5. *Suam quisque culpam*, &c. Arrange, *Auctores* (scil., *culpæ*) *transferunt quisque* (§ 98, Exc. 4.) *suam culpam ad negotia*, “The authors of this evil transfer each the blame due to himself to his (particular) circumstances.” — 6. *Quanto studio* = *quantum est studium quo*. § 99, Exc. 3 and Obs. 10. (1). — 7. *Neque regerentur* (scil., *casibus*). &c., “They would not more be ruled by, than they would themselves govern, the chances of fortune:” — *eo magnitudinis* (§ 135, 2.), “to a degree of greatness, in which, from being mortal, they would become immortal in glory.”

II.—1. *Genus hominum*, = *homo*, “Man:” — *sequuntur*, lit. “follow,” i. e., “correspond to,” “partake of.” — 2. *Præclara facies*, “A fine appearance,” “personal beauty:” — *dilabuntur*,

"insensibly pass away:" — *sicuti anima (est)*, "as is the soul." — 3. *Corporis et fortunæ bonorum*, "Of the advantages of person and of fortune:" — *incompactus*, "not subject to decay." § 49, 4: — *agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur (ab ullo negotio)*, "moves and controls (lit., holds) all things, and is not itself controlled by any thing." — 4. *Admiranda*, "To be wondered at:" — *ceterum*, &c. Arrange, *Ceterum sinunt ingenium*, &c., "but they suffer the mind," &c.: — *incultus*, "through want of culture:" — *artes animi*, "the employments of the mind."

III.—1. *Ex his (scil., artibus animi)*, "But of these:" — *omnis cura rerum publicarum*, "all charge of public affairs:" — *hac tempestate*, = *hoc tempore*, "at this time;" abl. of time when: — *honos*, "honor," i. e., "honorable office:" — *quibus per fraudem is (scil., honos) fuit*, "who obtained it by deceptive arts." — 2. *Aut parentes*, "Or subjects," meaning "subjected states," "conquered provinces," from *pareo* "to obey." Some think *parentes* is here from *pario*, and means "parents," "kindred;" but this does not accord so well with the context. Sallust combines these terms *patriam et parentes* in Cat. VI. and Jug. LXXXVII., in both of which *parentes* is commonly rendered "parents," but may with equal propriety be rendered as here: — *quanquam et possis (scil., regere patriam, &c.)*, *et delicta corrigas*, "even if you have the power, and if you should rectify abuses:" — *importunum est*, "is attended with danger." — 3. *Frustra autem niti*, &c., "But to strive in vain (namely, to effect improvements), and to obtain nothing but hatred by all one's exertions (lit., by vexing one's self), is the part of extreme folly." § 108, R. xii., Expl. — 4. *Nisi forte quem (for aliquem)*, &c., "Unless perhaps the base and pernicious humor possess some one:" — *gratificari*, "to sacrifice," dependent on *libido*. § 144, Obs. 4.

IV.—1. *Memoria rerum gestarum*, "The recording of past events," i. e., "The writing of history:" — *cujus de virtute*, &c., "and because many have spoken of the excellence of this (employment), I think this (namely, a dissertation concerning it) ought to be omitted by me:" — *prætereundum*, supply thus, *hoc mihi prætereundum esse*, scil., *cujus de virtute dicere*. — 2. *Ne per insolentiam*, &c. Arrange, *Ne quis existimet (me), per insolentiam, extollere memet, laudando meum studium*: — *per insolentiam*, "from a feeling of vanity:" — *studium*, "employment." — 3. *Fore, qui.... nomen inertie im*

ponant, "That some will give the name of slothfulness." § 141, Obs. 1: — *certē, quibus*, "at least (those will do so) to whom." The demonstrative *is, ea, id*, when the antecedent to a relative, is often omitted. § 99, Obs. 1, 4th: — *salutare plebem*, "to court the favor of the populace:" — *conviviis*, "by feasts." — 4. *Qui si reputaverint*, "But if these will reflect." § 99, Obs. 8: — *quibus temporibus*. Sallust obtained the quæstorship by which he was entitled to a seat in the senate at the age of twenty-seven, soon after the conspiracy of Catiline, when the state was in great confusion by the proceedings of Clodius; and six years after this he was elected tribune of the commons: — *quæ genera hominum*. The reference here is to a large body of senators created by Cæsar, among whom were many undeserving persons, and many even from the lower classes of society, some of whom were not even free-born: — *magis merito quam ignavia*, "on good grounds rather than from indolence:" — *ex aliorum negotiis*, "from the active employments of others." — 5. *Q. Maximum*. This is the celebrated Fabius Maximus, surnamed *Cunctator*, who distinguished himself in the second Punic war: — *P. Scipionem*, scil., Scipio Africanus the elder, the conqueror of Hannibal: — *majorum imagines*, "the images of their ancestors." Among the Romans those whose ancestors, or who themselves had borne any curule office, i. e., had been consul, prætor, censor, or curule ædile, were called *nobiles*, and had the right to make images of themselves, which they placed in the *atrium* or hall. These were busts made of wax; they were kept with great care by their posterity, and were carried out only in processions at funerals, and on solemn occasions. To have a great number of these was regarded as highly honorable, being an evidence of the antiquity of the family. — 6. *Scilicet* is here = *scire licet*, and to be so rendered, because on it depends the following infinitive with its subject, "One may know," i. e., "it is manifest:" — *egregiis viris*, dative, dependent on *pectore*, § 106, Obs. 5, = *egregiorum virorum*; so *animum sibi* above: — *neque sedari*, "and was not quenched." — 7. *His moribus*, "In the present state of morals," § 146, Obs. 10, or, "of these morals," according to § 106, R. vii., i. e., "possessing the manners of the present day:" — *quin* (= *qui non*, § 140, 3.) . . . *contendat*, &c., "who does not vie with his ancestors." — 8. *Homines novi*, lit., "New men," "upstart nobles." Those were called *novi homines*, who were the first of their family to raise themselves to any curule office. It is often used as an expression of contempt, though in reality highly honorable: — *furtim et*

per latrocinia, "by intrigue and open fraud:" — *bonis artibus*, "by honorable means:" — *nituntur*, "rise." — 9. *Proinde quasi*, "Just as if:" — *ac non perinde habeantur, ut*, "and are not to be regarded just as." — 10. *Dum me civitatis, &c.*, "Whilst I am vexed and chagrined at the manners of my country" (§ 113, Exe. ii.): — *redeo, &c.*, put here for *co*, or *venio*, "I come now to my subject." Here ends the introduction to this history, which like that of the history of the conspiracy of Catiline is long, philosophical, and having but little connection with the subject.

V.—1. *Bellum scripturus sum*, "I am about to write a history of the war," lit., "the war." For the particular idea expressed by the periphrastic conjugation, see § 79, 8. During the progress of this war, there was commencing at Rome that struggle between the *populares* and the *optimates* which was in the end carried on with such senseless vehemence, that only the devastation of Italy put a stop to the civil discord (*studiis civilibus*), and that only a military despotism (first of Cæsar and afterwards of the triumvirate) was able to restore peace. This part of the description of the Jugurthine war, accordingly, is of the greatest importance in forming a correct idea of the history of Rome at that time: — *obviam itum est*, "successful opposition was made," "a check was given:" — *quæ contentio*, "and this contest." § 99, Obs. 8: — *eoque vccordia*, "to such a height of madness." Ch. I., 7: — *studiis civilibus*, "to civil dissensions." — 2. *Pauca supra repetam*, "I will take a short review," lit., "I will trace farther back a few things:" — *quo*, "in order that:" — *magisque in aperto*, scil., *loco*, lit., "and more in an open place," i. e., "in a more conspicuous point of view." — 3. *Bello Punico secundo*. The Punic wars, i. e., the wars against the Carthaginians, were three in number. The first was undertaken B. C. 264, lasted 23 years, and ended in favor of the Romans. The second began B. C. 218, in which the Romans sustained severe reverses from the Carthaginians under Hannibal, in the battles of Trebia, the lake Thrasymenus, and Cannæ, but were at last victorious in the decisive battle of Zama, which terminated the war in B. C. 201. For fifty years after this, there was no open war between Rome and Carthage; but neither was there any cordial peace; on the contrary there was constant jealousy and suspicion.—Carthage again violated the former treaty by sending a force against Masinissa, the ally of the Romans; the consequence of which was that the Romans sent an army into Africa. Unwilling to

come to an open rupture with the Romans, they manifested a wish to appease them by any sacrifice. The Romans, taking advantage of this, stript them of all their strength and means of defence, and then sent an army to destroy their city. After the designs of the Romans became manifest, disabled as they were, they made desperate, but vain resistance for the space of three years, when the city was taken by Scipio and burnt to the ground, B. C. 147, and Carthage rose no more.

— 4. *Post magnitudinem nominis Romani*, lit., “Since the greatness of the Roman name,” i. e., “After the Roman name had become great.”

— 5. *Rex Numidarum*. Numidia was a country of Africa east of Mauritania, and corresponding nearly to modern Algiers. It was originally divided into two petty kingdoms, that of the Massyli to the east, of which Masinissa was king, and that of the Massæsyli to the west, governed by Syphax, who, having taken part with the Carthaginians, was conquered by Lælius and Masinissa, and his territory, after the close of the second Punic war, bestowed by the Romans on Masinissa during his life, who thus became king of all Numidia. As a people, the Numidians are represented by Sallust as warlike, but faithless, unsteady, and fond of revolutions in the state. — 6. *Cui postea Africano cognomen fuit*. § 97, Exc. 2: — *ob quæ*, scil., *facinora*, “on account of these exploits:” — *cujus in Africa*, &c., “whose dominion in Africa was powerful and of great extent.” The connection of the adjective and adverb here is rather singular: — *quascunque urbes et agros*, “all the cities and lands which.” § 99, Obs. 7: — *regi* (scil., *Masinissæ*) *dono*. § 114, R. xix. — 7. *Imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit*. This does not mean that Masinissa continued to be king of Numidia till his death, though that is true, and is here expressed, but that the kingdom of Syphax was given to Masinissa only during his own life, and did not descend to his son. Of course after his father's death, Micipsa reigned over that part of Numidia only which originally belonged to his father, while the other part, which had been taken from Syphax, of which Cirta was the capital, was by the Romans reduced into the form of a province. — 8. *Privatum reliquerat*, “Had left in a private station.” Masinissa had many sons, but as most of them were the sons of concubines, and did not become distinguished, as Jugurtha did, nothing is said of them.

VI.—1. *Qui ubi primum adolevit*, “As soon as he (Jugurtha) grew up:” — *luxu*, dative for *luxui*. § 16, Exc. 2: — *equitare, jaculari*, &c.; historical infinitives, § 144, Obs. 6; also the following *agere*,

ferire, &c.: — *et quum*, “and although:” — *ad hoc*, “moreover;” *primus* is here used adverbially. § 98, Obs. 10. — 2. *Quibus rebus*, “On account of these things;” the ablative of cause: — *regno suo glorie fore*, “would bring glory to his kingdom.” See Ch. V., 6, in fin. — *postquam hominem*, &c., “after he perceived that the young man increased more and more in reputation, his own life being now far spent, and his children (Adherbal and Hiempsal) small.” — 3. *Opportunitas suæ*, &c., “The favorable opportunity of his own and his children’s age, which leads astray even unambitious men with the hope of advantage,” scil., *terrebat eum*, “alarmed him.” — 4. *Studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa (sunt)*, “The affections of the Numidians were ardent towards Jugurtha:” — *ex quibus*, “from whom,” scil., the Numidians: — *ne qua seditio*, “that some insurrection.” § 140, Obs. 6: — *anxius erat*, “he was apprehensive,” — “afraid.”

VII.—1. *Popularibus*, “To his countrymen.” — 2. *Bello Numantino*, “In the Numantine war.” Numantia, a town in Spain, near the head of the Durius, was celebrated for its brave resistance against the Romans for the space of fourteen years, in which, with less than 10,000 men, they not only held out against 40,000 Romans, but frequently gained advantages over them, and obliged them to accede to dishonorable treaties. This was greatly owing to the natural strength of its position. It was, however, at last reduced by Scipio Africanus the younger, the conqueror of Carthage. — 3. *Longe aliter ac*, “Far otherwise than.” § 149, Obs. 6: — *impigro atque aeri ingenio*, “of a quick and penetrating genius.” — 4. *Romanis imperator*, “General of the Romans.” § 106, Obs. 5. — 5. *Quod difficiillimum in primis est*, “That which is of all things the most difficult.” § 99, Obs. 1, 4th: *in primis*, sometimes *imprimis* in one word, is used as an adverb, “among the first,” “chiefly.” — 6. *Quorum alterum*, “Of these things, the one,” namely, ‘to be good in council,’ *solet*, &c.: — *alterum*, “the other,” namely, ‘to be bold in battle,’ *solet*, &c. — 7. *Agere, habere, amplecti*; historical infinitives: — *quippe cujus*, &c., “inasmuch as no advice nor undertaking of his ever failed:” — *quits*, contr. for *quibus*: — *multos ex Romanis = multos Romanorum*. § 107, Obs. 8.

VIII.—1. *Novi atque nobiles*. See Ch. IV., 5 and 8: — *quibus divitiæ*, &c., “to whom wealth was of more importance than that which is good and honorable;” with *bono* and *honesto* supply *negotio*, Abl.

§ 120, R. xxiv. : — *domi*, scil., *Romæ* : — *non mediocrem animum*, “the ambitious mind :” — *pollicitando*. Note the force of the frequentative : — *occidisset* (from *occido*, not *occido*), “should die :” — *fore, uti solus*, &c. This clause depends on *pollicitando*. § 145, Obs. 6. — 2. *Donatum atque laudatum magnifice*, “Being loaded with presents and lauded in the highest style :” — *pro concione*, “publicly,” lit., “in presence of the assembly :” — *in prætorium*, “into his tent.” — 3. *Publice quam privatim*, “Publicly rather than privately,” i. e., by public services rather than by private interest. — 4. *Neu quibus* (for *aliquibus*) *largiri insucsceret*, “And that he should not make a practice of giving bribes to individuals.” There was doubtless need for this advice ; and Scipio probably had seen with displeasure the intimacy between Jugurtha and certain young ambitious Romans of doubtful character. — 5. *Periculose a paucis*, &c. Arrange and supply thus, (*id* acc. subject of *emi*) *quod esset multorum* (§ 108, R. xii.) *emi periculose a paucis* : — *in suis (bonis) artibus*, “in his virtuous practices :” — *suamet pecunia*, “by the very means of his money.”

IX.—1. *Cum litteris*, “With a letter :” — *earum*, “of this.” See Cat. XXXIV., 4 : — *quam rem = quod*, subject of *esse*, and referring to the preceding clause : — *scio certo*, “I know certainly,” “I am sure.” — 2. *Fama*, “By common report :” — *ita esse*, “were true,” i. e., *ita esse uti acceperat* : — *quum virtute tum gratia viri*, “both by the merit and the popularity of the man.” — 3. *Morbo atque atate confectus*, “Exhausted with sickness and age :” — *hujusmodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse*, “to have spoken with Jugurtha to this effect.” *Habere* seems to be a favorite word with Sallust, and *verba habere* is sometimes used in the sense of *orationem habere*. The use of *cum* with *Jugurtha* intimates that this was spoken in conversation.

X.—1. *Parvum*, “When a child :” — *in meum regnum*, “into my kingdom,” viz., as one of my heirs. This was not exactly true, for the history, Ch. VII., shows he had far other views, and this was well understood by Jugurtha, as is mentioned in the next chapter : — *quam si (te) genuissem*, “than if I had been your father.” Most editions after *quam* insert *liberis*, making the meaning, “than to my children, if I should have any.” This seems to be forced, and gives ground to suspect that *liberis* is an interpolation : — *neque ea res falsum me*

habuit, "nor has that expectation disappointed me,"—*habuit falsum* = *fefellit*. — 2. *Amicissimos*: *Amicus* is really an adjective, and hence is compared as here, though it is commonly used as a noun, —so also *inimicus*, *familiaris*, &c. — 3. *Per regni fidem*, "By the fidelity you owe my kingdom:" — *neu malis alienos (tibi) adjungere*, "and that you do not choose rather to make friends of strangers." — 4. *Officio et fide pariuntur*, "They are acquired by acts of kindness and fidelity." The beautiful sentiments here expressed are borrowed from the dying advice of Cyrus to his sons. Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. — 5. *Quis autem*, supply *debet esse*. — 6. *Ceterum ante hos te . . . decet*, "But it becomes you rather than them," i. e., "it is your part rather than theirs," lit., "in preference to them," viz., his sons: — *ne aliter quid eveniat providere*, "to take care that nothing happen otherwise (than I could wish)." — 7. *Colite, observate*, "Cherish, respect."

XI.—1. *Ficta locutum (esse)*, "Spoke insincerely," lit., "fictions:" — *longe aliter*, supply *ac dicebat*: — *pro tempore benigne respondit*, "gave an affectionate answer, suited to the occasion." — 2. *Iusta*, scil., *funera*, "The funeral obsequies:" — *reguli* (dim. of *rex*), "the princes," viz., Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha: — *ut disceptarent*, "in order to confer." — 3. *Natura ferox*, "Naturally high spirited:" — *ignobilitatem*, "the ignoble birth:" — *materno genere*, "on the mother's side:" — *dextera Adherbalem assedit*, "sat down by Adherbal on the right;" i. e., at the right hand side of Adherbal. The accusative is governed by *ad* in composition (*ad-sedit*),—*dextera* = *a dextera*. There remained accordingly for Jugurtha only the place on the left of Adherbal, which was considered the least honorable of the three. This was intended, contrary to the advice of his father, to show disrespect to Jugurtha. — 4. *Fatigatus* (scil., *precibus*) *a fratre*, "Being importuned by his brother:" — *in alteram partem*, "to the other side (i. e., to the left side) of his brother." — 5. *Jacit*, "Proposes." — 6. *Idem placere sibi*, "That the same (proposal) pleased him:" — *illum ipsum*, "that he himself," viz., Jugurtha: — *tribus proximis annis*, "within the last three years." — 7. *Quod verbum*, "This remark." — 8. *Ira et metu*, &c., "Distracted with rage and fear he plotted, he contrived, and had in his mind only those things." § 144, Obs. 6. — 9. *Quæ ubi tardius (opinione or quam voluerat) procedunt*, "As these things proceed more slowly (than he wished)." § 120, Obs. 5

XII.—1. *Propter dissensionem*, “On account of disagreement,” i. e., “to prevent disagreement:” — *dividi thesauros*, &c., “that the treasures should be divided, and limits of dominion appointed to each:” — *sed maturius*, “but first,” lit., “sooner.” — **2.** *Propinqua thesauris*, “Near the treasury:” — *alius alio*, scil., *loco*, “one to one place, and another to another,” i. e., each to a different abode. § 98, Obs. 11. — **3.** *In oppido Thermida*, &c., “In the town of Thermida, happened to occupy a house belonging to him who had been chief licitor (i. e., attendant) of Jugurtha.” The lictors went in single file before those whom they attended. The foremost was called *primus licitor*; the last, as being nearest to his superior, was called *proximus licitor*. This place was assigned to the principal attendant, or chief of the lictors. Either the custom of the Romans had been adopted by the Numidian kings, or Sallust, accommodating his language to the custom of the Romans, calls the chief attendant *proximus licitor*. — **4.** *Quem ille (Jugurtha) casu ministrum oblatum*, &c., “This tool (of his designs), thrown in his way by chance, he loads with promises:” — *portarum claves adulterinas*, “false keys for the gates of his house.” The true keys had been given to Hiempsal when he took possession of the house, and of course, without keys, persons from without could not get into the house. — **5.** *Qui postquam*, “After they:” — *diversi regem quærere*, “in different directions they sought the king.” These infinitives are historical: — *quum interim*, “whilst in the mean time.” *Quum* with *interea* or *interim* marks a simultaneous occurrence: — *quo*, “whither,” “to which.”

XIII.—1. *In duas partes discedunt*. “They separate into two parties:” — *illum alterum bello meliores sequuntur*, “those better skilled in war follow the other,” scil., Jugurtha. *Illum* here is used for the sake of emphasis like the Greek article. — **2.** *Partim (= alias) vi*, &c., “Some by force, others of their own consent.” § 98, Obs. 12: — *omni Numidiæ (se) parat*, “he prepares himself to rule over all Numidia,” i. e., he sets himself to be master of, &c. — **3.** *Qui senatum docerent*, “To inform the senate.” § 141, Obs. 2, 4th. — **4.** *In provinciam*, “Into the (Roman) province,” namely, that part of Africa formerly bestowed on Masinissa during his life, but which, at his death, together with the territory taken from the Carthaginians, was formed into a province under a Roman governor. Ch. V., 7, and Ch. XIX. — **5.** *Patratis consiliis*, “Having accomplished his designs:” — *omnis Numidiæ*, genitive after *potiebatur*. § 121, Exc. 2: —

timere, habere; hist. inf.: — *irani ejus*, "their resentment," referring to *populum Romanum*. — 6. *Quis* (for *quibus*) *præcepit*, "To whom he gave charge:" — *quæcunque possint largiundo*, &c., "not to hesitate to accomplish whatever they can by bribery." — 7. *Hospitibus aliisque*, "To his friends and to others:" — *ex maxima invidia*, "from the greatest odium:" — *in gratiam et favorem*, "into the good graces and favor:" — *singulos ex senatu ambiundo*, &c., "by going round to each individual of the senate, they exerted themselves that nothing too severe should be determined against him." — 8. *Satis confident*, "Are sufficiently confident," i. e. feel sure that all is safe for them: — *senatus utrisque datur*, lit., "the senate (i. e., an audience on the part of the senate) is given to both;" namely, to Adherbal and the legates of Jugurtha.

XIV.—1. *Uti regni*, &c., "To regard as mine, only the administration of the kingdom of Numidia, but that the right and the sovereignty of it was vested in you." This is not a true representation, but is to be considered as the language of servility, by which a weak but amiable prince sought to recommend himself to the protection of the Roman senate: — *vos mihi cognatorum*, &c., "to regard you as my relations and kinsmen." After verbs of commanding, &c., *ut* with the subjunctive may be rendered as the infinitive. § 145, Obs. 5, 3d. — 2. *Quæquum præcepta*, &c., "When I was actively carrying out these precepts of my father." Note the force of the frequentative *agitarem*: — *et jam ab stirpe*, "and even by my ancestry." — 3. *Quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram*, "Since I was (destined) to come to such misery," i. e., since this was my fate: — *vellem (me) posse . . . petere*, "I could have wished that I might have been able to ask:" — *quibus non egerem*, "of which I did not stand in need." § 121, R. xxv. Instead of the ablative *quibus*, the genitive might have been used. § 121, Exc. 1: — *secundum ea*, &c., "next to this, if they were to be needed, that I might have used them as favors due to me." — 4. *Per se ipsa*, to be translated as if *per se ipsam*. § 98, Exc. 5. See Idioms, 33: — *neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret*, lit., "nor was what sort of a person Jugurtha would be in my power," i. e., nor was it in my power to form the character of Jugurtha. The subject of *fuit* is the following clause, *Jugurtha*, &c.: — *oneri, usui*, datives of the end. § 114, R. xix. — 5. *Quo tempore magis fides ejus*, &c., "A time in which their fidelity rather than their fortune was to be desired;" *ejus* refers to *populo Romano*, and is therefore rendered "their." In

the time of the Carthaginian war, the Romans were so much involved in difficulties that they could give but little assistance to their allies, on the other hand, serious disaster to the Romans would have involved their allies also. — 6. *Quorum progeniem*, &c. Arrange, *Vos nolite pati me progeniem quorum, nepotem Masinissæ*, &c., "Do not suffer me—the offspring of these (ancestors)—the grandson of Masinissa," &c. Here *me* has both *progeniem* and *nepotem* in apposition—*quorum* finds its antecedent in *familia* = *majores*. § 99, Exc. 1. — 7. *Ad impetrandum*, scil., *auxilium*: — *quod paulo ante*, "that (I) lately:" — *alienas opes exspecto*, "am looking for assistance from others:" — *tamen erat majestatis*, "yet it would become the majesty." § 44, II., 3: — *neque*, "and not." — 8. *Huccine beneficia tua evasere*, "Have your favors (viz., to Jugurtha) come to this:"—*ut . . . is quem*, &c. Here the antecedent clause follows the relative clause (§ 99, Note), and in translating the order must be reversed: — *semperne . . . versabimur?* "shall we be always," &c.?: — *incolumes*, "powerful," lit., "safe," scil., from the dominion of the Romans. — 9. *Illa pèstis*, namely, the Carthaginians: — *quippe quîs* (for *quibus*), "as (those) to whom:" — *nisi forte quem* (for *aliquem*) *vos jussissetis*, "unless such as you had appointed," lit., "unless you had ordered any." When the Romans declared war against any people, the allies of the Romans were obliged to regard that people as their enemy also. — 10. *Sese efferens*, "Exalting himself:" — *eodem suo propinquo*, "and the same also his kinsman" (his cousin, Ch. V. in fin.): — *regnum ejus*, "his (Hiempsal's) kingdom:" — *nequit*, = *non quit*: — *nihil minus*, &c., "never expecting violence or war under your authority;" *nihil minus quam* means, lit., "nothing less than;" in other words, "any thing rather than," i. e., "not at all," "never"—a form of expression strongly negative: — *sicuti videtis . . . effecit*, "he has made me as you see," &c.: — *tutius* (adv.), "in greater safety" = *tutior*, "safer." — 11. *Qui*. Arrange, *eos, qui*, "That those who." See above, Note 8: — *ex omnibus maxime tutos* = *omnium tutissimos*. § 26, 9, and § 107, Obs. 8. — 12. *Quod in familia nostra fuit, præstitit*, "Whatever was in the power of our family to do, it did:" — *uti . . . adesset vobis*, "that it might assist you." — 13. *Tertium*, &c. Arrange, *Ratus est Jugurtham, tertium conjunctum fore nobis suis beneficiis*; *tertium*, "having become a third (brother)," scil., by adoption: — *suis*, "by his," Micipsa's: — *Alter*, scil., *Hiempsal*: — *alterius*, scil., *Jugurthæ*. — 14. *Quem minime decuit*. Arrange, *Pro-*

pinguis quem minime decuit: — *per scelus*, “wickedly:” — *alium alia clades oppressit* = this clause doubled, which, when combined, may be rendered, “various disasters have crushed.” § 98, Obs. 11: — *capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti (sunt)*, “being seized by Jugurtha, part were crucified;” *pars*—*pars*, like *alii*—*alii*, § 98, Obs. 12, distribute *illi* understood, referring to *affines, amicos, propinquos*. For *pars acti*, see § 98, Exc. 2. — **15.** *Quibus pro magnitudine imperii, &c., lit.*, “To whom it is proper, on account of the extent of your empire, that justice and all injustice should be a care,” i. e., “to whom it belongs—to take cognizance of all right and wrong:” — *omnium honestarum rerum*, “of all things suitable (to my rank):” — *nationesne, &c., scil., appellem*, “shall I apply to nations,” &c. ? — **16.** *Nostri misereri.* § 108, R. xiii. — **17.** *Huic imperio fortuna*, “The fortune of this (the Roman) empire,” the dative for the genitive of the object. § 106, Obs. 5: — *una occidendum nobis esse*, “that we must fall along with it.” § 147, R. lxi. — **18.** *Secunda*, “Favorable:” — *ne*, “that.” § 140, Obs. 6: — *quos (= aliquos) . . . transversos agat*, “may lead some astray:” — *quos ego audio maxima ope niti*, “who I hear are striving with all their might.” § 145, Obs. 2: — *fatigare (precibus), &c.*, “are importuning you individually:” — *cui licuerit in regno manere*, “when I might have remained in my kingdom.” — **19.** *Quod utinam . . . videam*, “But would that I might see:” — *ne ille*, “truly then he:” — *graves pœnas reddat*, “would suffer the heavy penalty.” — **20.** *Unde minime decuit*, (scil., *tuam vitam eripî*)—*unde* = *a quo*, “By whom,” &c.: — **21.** *Rerum humanarum*. “Of human affairs,” i. e., of their uncertainty. — **22.** *Tuasne injurias persequar, &c.*, “Whether I shall try to avenge thy wrongs, or consult only for the welfare of my kingdom:” — *cujus vitæ necisque, &c.*, “of whose life or death”—i. e., since of my life or death, the disposal depends on the assistance of others, scil., the Roman senate. This construction of the relative having *ego* (here the subject of *consulam*) for its antecedent is unusual. — **23.** *Emori*, “To die speedily.” Here the infinitive as a noun is used as the subject of *esset*, “Would that a speedy death might be the honorable termination of my misfortunes.” § 106, Obs. 5: — *neu vivere contemptus viderer*, “and that I might not seem to live an object of contempt.” — **24.** *Per vos liberos*. Arrange, (*Oro*) *vos per liberos*: — *per scelus (Jugurthæ), et sanguinem familie*. *Familie* here limits *sanguinem*, but not *scelus*, as the sense obviously shows.

XV.—1. *Utro*, “Without provocation:” — *aliū, ac*, “other than:” — *neu verba inimici*, &c., lit., “nor put the words of his adversary before his own deeds,” i. e., “give more weight to the words of his adversary than to his own deeds;” viz., at Numantia. — **2.** *Utrique*, “Both parties,” scil., Adherbal and the legates of Jugurtha. — **3.** *Magna pars gratia depravata*, “A great party (of others) corrupted by their (the senators’) influence.” Compare this construction with *pars acti*, &c., Ch. XIV., 14: that was according to the exception—this is according to the rule. Here *contemnere*, *extollere*, historical infinitives, are joined with the imperfect indicative (*nitebantur*). § 144, Obs. 6: — *pro alieno scelere et flagitio . . . nitebantur*, “exerted themselves in defence of another’s wicked and base actions.” — **4.** *Emilius Scaurus*, a Roman nobleman of great ability, who was twice consul and *princeps senatus*. Cicero highly extols his virtues, abilities, and achievements; but Sallust here describes him as a prudent aristocrat, anxious to keep up a respectable appearance, and to avoid suspicion as much as possible: although, in secret, he too had recourse to unfair means to obtain influence and wealth. — **5.** *Regis*, scil., *Jugurthæ*: — *famosam*, “notorious:” — *ne polluta licentia*, &c., “that the scandalous freedom (taken by corrupt men) might excite odium against him.”

XVI.—1. *Vicit*, “Prevailed:” — *decem legati*, “ten commissioners.” — **2.** *Cujus legationis*, “Of this commission.” Opimius was consul B. C. 121, and in that year he crushed the party of C. Sempronius Gracchus, the advocate of the Agrarian law. The following history shows he was not a man of integrity and honor: — *quia consul*, “because when consul:” — *acerrime victoriam*, &c., “he had made a very cruel use of the victory of the nobility over the commons.” It is said that three thousand of the commons were put to death on that occasion. — **3.** *Accuratissime*, “With the greatest ceremony,” “with the most studied respect:” — *fide*, dative for *fidei*. § 17, Exc.: — *plerosque capit*, “he (Jugurtha) gains over the most of them (to his interest).” — **4.** *Quæ pars = ea pars quæ pars Numidiæ*, &c., § 99, Obs. 1, 2d, “That part of Numidia which joins Mauritania.” Mauritania lay to the west of Numidia corresponding to the present Fez and Morocco: — *illam alteram*, &c., “the other (see Ch. XIII., 1.) better in appearance than reality:” — *portuosior*, “better supplied with harbors,”—though they were few even then, as *importuosum* in the next chapter shows.

XVII.—1. *Attingere*, “To touch upon,” i. e., “to give a brief account of.” — 2. *Quæ loca*, as above, Note 4: — *minus frequentata* (neut. § 98, Obs. 3.) *sunt*, “are less frequented:” — *haud facile*, &c., “I cannot easily relate any thing with certainty,” lit., “any thing ascertained.” — 3. *In tertia parte*. America, the fourth division, was not then discovered: — *pauci tantummodo*, supply *dixerunt*, or *voluerunt*: — *sed Africam (esse) in Europa*. The northern parts only of Africa were then known. The early writers divided the earth, as here mentioned, into two parts. Thus Varro, L. L., 4, *Ut omnis natura in cælum et terram divisa est, sic cælum in regiones, terra in Asiam et Europam*. — 4. *Ea*, “It,” scil., Africa: — *fretum nostri maris*, &c., “the strait connecting our sea (the Mediterranean, so called, because Italy stretched out into it) and the (Atlantic) ocean,” viz., the *fretum Gaditanum* or *Herculeum*, the Straits of Gibraltar: — *declivem latitudinem*, “a wide sloping tract:” — *Catabathmon* (Greek *καταβαθμόν*, “a descent”), “Catabathmus” (*magnus*). This slope or region separated Cyrenaica from Egypt, and was regarded by Sallust as the limit of Africa to the west; and this shows that Egypt was not then considered as a part of Africa, but belonged to Asia. — 5. *Mare sævum, importuosum*, “The sea was stormy, ill-supplied with harbors:” — *arbore infecundus*, “not productive of wood” (or “trees”): — *cælo terraque*, “from the heaven and the earth,” i. e., from rain or springs: — *generis malefici*, “of a hurtful kind.” — 6. *Qui mortales*, “What men:” — *accesserint*, “came to it:” — *quanquam ab ea fama*, &c., “although (the account) is different from that story which holds possession of most persons,” i. e., which generally prevails. *Diversum* agrees with, and *interpretatum est* has for its subject, the preceding part of the sentence, *qui mortales*, &c.; hence the neuter gender; for the subjunctives, *habuerint*, *accesserint*, *permixti sint*, see § 140, 5: — *qui regis Hiempsalis (esse) dicebantur*, “which were said to have belonged to king Hiempsal,”—not the one already mentioned, who was killed by Jugurtha; but a later descendant of Masinissa, who ruled after Jugurtha and was still alive in the time of Cicero, about B. C. 60: — *rem sese habere*, “the thing is.” *Se habere*, in imitation of the Greek *ἑαυτὸ ἔχειν*, means “to be,” lit., “to have itself.” — 7. *Fides ejus rei*, &c., “The truth of that statement will rest with the authors themselves,”—as much as to say, ‘I do not vouch for the truth of it.’ Sallust was prudent to throw the responsibility on his authorities; for the account here given of Africa would not have gained for him the reputation of accuracy.

XVIII.—1. *Quis* (for *quibus*) *cibus*, &c., lit., “To whom the food was the flesh of wild beasts, and, as to cattle, the productions of the ground” (as herbs, roots, &c.), i. e., who fed on the flesh of wild beasts, and, like cattle, on the products of the ground. *Uti pecoribus* refers only to *humani pabulum*: — *cujusquam* limits only *imperio*. — 2. *Hercules*, &c. This of course is wholly fabulous: — *ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus*, “and every where many aiming at command, each for himself.” *Quisque* here, in the nominative, is a singular construction; regularly it would be *quoque* in the same case with *multis* which it distributes. § 98, Exc. 4, in fin.: — *dilabatur*, “melts away,” “comes to nothing.” — 3. *Ex eo numero*, scil., the army of Hercules. — 4. *Intra Oceanum*, “Upon (lit., within) the Atlantic ocean,” in part surrounded or enclosed by it,—meaning the part west of the Straits of Gibraltar: — *inversos*, “turned bottom up:” — *copia*, “facility:” — *ignara lingua*, “an unknown language.” *Ignarus* commonly active in signification (“not knowing”) is here passive (“unknown”). — 5. *Per connubia*, “By intermarriages:” — *tentantes agros*, &c., “making trial of the lands (i. e., the pasturage), they had gone to one place, then to another,”—shifted about from place to place: — *semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere*, “they called themselves Nomades,” or “Nomads.” This term from *νομός*, “pasture,” is applied by the Greeks to pastoral tribes who have no settled habitation, but move about from place to place in search of pasture for their flocks. — 6. *Adhuc*, “To this day:” — *mapalia*, “huts,” properly, “movable huts,” as *magalia* means “fixed abodes.” Both words are of Punic origin: — *oblonga*. Arrange, *sunt oblonga*, &c.: — *incurvis lateribus tecta*, &c., “gathered up into a roof, with sides bending like the hulls of ships,” lit., “as if the hulls of ships.” — 7. *Accessere Libyes*, “Joined themselves to the Libyans.” *Libyes* (from *Libys*), the acc. pl. governed by *ad* in composition (*ad-cessere*): — *propius mare*. § 136, Obs. 5: — *sub sole magis*, i. e., nearer the equator—farther to the south: — *ab ardoribus*, “from the scorching heats (of the torrid zone):” — *freto*, scil., *Gaditano*: — *mutare res inter se*, “to exchange commodities with one another.” § 28, Obs. 5. — 8. *Eorum*, scil., *Medorum*: — *Mauros pro Medis appellantes*, “by calling them (§ 146, Obs. 6, last part) *Mauri* instead of *Medi*.” This is a very improbable origin of the word *Mauri*. Bochart, with more probability, derives it from *Mauharim*, “the furthest people,” as they lived on the western shores of Africa. From this is derived the modern name of Moors. — 9. *Nomine Numidæ*, “Numidians by name,” i. e., under

the name of Numidians: — *propter multitudinem*, “on account of the multitude of people,”—the superabounding, or excess of population: — *quæ Numidia appellatur*. Though *quæ* has for its antecedent *loca*, in the plural, it agrees with Numidia in the singular; hence the singular *appellatur*. § 99, Obs. 4. — 10. *Utrique*, “Both,” i. e., parents and children: — *alteris freti*, i. e., *alteri alteris freti*, “confiding in each other,” lit., “the one to the other:” — *magis ii*, “especially those.” — 11. *Africae pars inferior pleraque*, “Most of the lower part of Africa,” § 98, Obs. 9, i. e., the part nearest the sea: — *concessere in gentem*, &c., “became merged into the nation and name of the conquerors,” i. e., of the Numidians; the *omnes victi* are the Libyans, the *finitimos* above.

XIX.—1. *Alii—pars* = *alii—alii*, distributing *Phanices*. § 98, Obs. 12: — *sollicitata* agrees with *plebe*, but belongs equally to *aliis*. § 98, Obs. 4: — *Hipponem*, &c. All these are cities in the territory of Carthage, which afterwards became the province of Africa: — *originibus suis*, “to their parent states,” i. e., the cities of Phœnicia, from which the colonies that founded them had come. Here again *pars—aliæ* = *aliæ—aliæ*, distribute *ææ*, scil., *urbes*. — 2. *Nam* refers to something in the mind to be supplied; as, I say nothing of Carthage, “for,” &c.: — *alio* (adv.), “to another subject.” — 3. *Ad Catabathmon*, “On the side of (i. e., beginning at) Catabathmus.” See Ch. XVII.: — *secundo mari*, “along the sea,” i. e., following the sea westward: — *colonia Theræōn*, “a colony of Theræans.” These were from the island of Thera in the Greek Archipelago, south of Peloponnesus. *Theræōn*, the Greek genitive plural in *ων*, Latinized, § 10, *barbiton*; so also *Philænōn* below: — *duæ Syrtes*, scil., the *Syrtes major*, and the *Syrtes minor*—two large sand banks near the coast of Africa between Cyrene and Carthage, dangerous to navigation. Between them lay the route to *Leptis magna*, a city of considerable importance: — *Philænōn aræ*, “the altars of the Philæni.” These altars were erected in memory of the Philæni who were buried alive there as described Ch. LXXIX. of this history: — *Ægyptum versus*, “towards Egypt.” — 4. *Super Numidiam*, “Above Numidia,” i. e., south of it, and more inland, which is always conceived of as higher than the coast: — *partim in tuguriis*, “some in huts.” Here again *partim—alios* = *alios—alios*, and distribute *Gatulos*: — *agitare*, “live:” — *post eos*, “that behind these,” i. e., farther south, more inland. — 5. *Pleraque ex*

Punicis oppida (more commonly *ex Punicis oppidis*), "Most of the Carthaginian towns:" — *quos novissime habuerant*, "which they (the Carthaginians) had very lately possessed," viz., at the beginning of the third Punic war: — *imperitabat*, same as *imperabat*, "ruled," "governed:" — *præter nomen cetera*, &c., "as to other things except the name ignorant of (a stranger to) the Roman people." Here *ignarus* has its usual active sense, and is followed by its object in the genitive. § 107, R. ix. For the accusative *cetera*, see § 128, Obs. 1, Exc.

XX.—1. *Diviso regno*. Sallust here takes up the history from Ch. XVI.: — *decessere*, "had departed." § 44, III., 3: — *præmia sceleris adeptum sese*, "that he had obtained the rewards of his villany,"—namely impunity, and the half of Numidia, instead of the third: — *quod—acceperat*, "which he had heard." Ch. VIII. — **2.** *Quem petebat*, "At whom he aimed," "whom he designed to attack:" — *opportunist injuriæ*, "a fit subject for injustice," "who might be injured with impunity," "easily trampled upon." — **3.** *Capit*, "Seizes:" — *dolore permotum*, "stung with resentment." — **4.** *At ille*, scil., *Adherbal*: — *fretus erat*, "depended," lit., "was depending:" — *amicitia*, *Numidis*. § 119, R. xxiii.: — *questum* (supine), "to complain:" — *contumeliosa dicta*, "an insulting answer:" — *tentatum antea secus ecesserat*, "when attempted before, it had turned out otherwise (than he expected)." — **5.** *Neque eo*, "Nor by that," viz., the complaint of *Adherbal*: — *quippe qui*, &c., "since he in his mind had already seized on the whole of his [*Adherbal's*] kingdom." — **6.** *Vastare*, &c., historical infinitives: — *prædas agere*, "drove off the booty," scil., cattle or live stock, such as can be taken off by driving, as the word *agere* denotes.

XXI.—1. *Eo processum*, "It had come to that," "that matters had come to such a pass:" — *Jugurthæ obvius procedit*, "advances to meet Jugurtha." § 111, R. xvi. — **2.** *Prope Cirtam oppidum*. § 136, Obs. 5. A city of Numidia, once the royal residence, and a place of great wealth under Syphax, situate on the river Ampsagas, about 48 miles from the sea. — **3.** *Processit*, "Had advanced." § 44, III., 3: — *obscurum etiam tum lumine*, "the light being even yet very faint," i. e., "at early dawn:" — *partim — alios = alios — alios*, distributing *eos*, scil., *hostes* understood, meaning the soldiers of *Adherbal*. — **4.** *Togatorum*, "Of Roman citizens." The *toga* was

the badge of Roman citizenship, as the *pallium* was of Greek: — *mœnibus prohibuit*, “repelled from the walls:” — *captum atque patratum foret*, “would have been begun and ended.” — 5. *Vincis*. The *Vincæ* were sheds erected by the Romans, with a roof of wicker work covered over with earth or raw hides, to prevent them from being easily set on fire. They were moved up against the walls on wheels or rollers, and under their shelter the soldiers worked the battering ram (*aries*), or undermined the walls: — *turribus*. The towers used in the Roman military works were of two kinds, fixed, and movable. They were structures of wood, sufficiently high to overlook and command the enemy’s walls; and from them, showers of arrows, darts, and other missiles were thrown by means of engines. When once erected or brought up against a town, it was seldom able to hold out long. See Cæsar, Index, *Turris* and *vineæ*.

TURRIS.



6. *Tempus legatorum antecapere*, "To anticipate the time (of the return) of the ambassadors." — 7. *Accipit*, "Heard:" — *qui adcant — verbis nuntient*, "to go to," — "to announce to them in the words," &c. § 141, Obs. 2, 4th. — 8. *Velle et censere*, "That they desired and commanded." *Velle* refers to the people, and *censere* to the determination of the senate after due deliberation: — *eos*, "that they," scil., Jugurtha and Adherbal: — *jure*, "by law:" — *ita (facere) seque illisque dignum esse*, "that to do thus was befitting both the Romans and them." *Se* refers to the Roman people and senate, *illis*, to Jugurtha and Adherbal.

XXII.—1. *Clemens erat*, "Was mild." — 2. *Quorum Jugurtha*, &c., "Jugurtha, on hearing their commission, replied:" — *ab optimo quoque*, "by all good men." § 98, Obs. 13: — *plucuisse—adoptatum (esse)*. § 47, 2: — *non malitia*, "not by wicked conduct:" — *ob easdem artes*, "that for this conduct," lit., "for these good qualities." — 3. *Quo plura*, "The more:" — *eo animum suum*, &c., "the less could his spirit brook injury." § 132, Obs. 6. — 4. *Neque recte neque pro bono facturum (esse)*, "Would act neither justly nor for their own interest:" — *si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit*, "if they debarred him (Jugurtha) from the right of nations," namely, to avenge his own wrongs. — 5. *Utrique digredimtur*, "Both parties (Jugurtha and the ambassadors) separate." — 6. *Adherbalis appellandi (illis) copia non fuit*, "They had not an opportunity of speaking to Adherbal." § 147, R. lxii.

XXIII.—1. *Neque — potest*, "And he could not:" — *turres exstruit*, "he erects (fixed) towers:" — *tentare, ostentare*, &c. § 144, Obs. 6: — *modo formidinem*, "sometimes intimidation:" — *arrigere*, "excited:" — *prorsus intentus*, "always on the alert." 2. *Hostem infestum*, "That his enemy was implacable," "was bent on his ruin:" — *una*, "with him:" — *miserando casum suum*, "by deploring his own condition"—with a view to excite their compassion. — 3. *Litteræ Adherbalis—recitatæ (sunt)*, "The letter of Adherbal was read aloud:" — *sententia*, "the purport."

XXIV.—1. *In animo habeat*, "He regards in his mind," or simply, "he regards:" — *malit*, "he would rather have." — 2. *Mihi—auxiliatur*, "Afford relief to me:" — *urguear*, ancient form of *urgear*. — 3. *Plura de Jugurtha*, &c., "My unhappy con-

dition discourages me from writing more concerning Jugurtha." —
 4. *Nisi tamen intellego*, "But still (this I may say) I understand," &c.
 — 5. *Utrum gravius existimct*, "Which of the two he thinks the more important" (scil., your friendship or my kingdom). This clause is the subject of *est*. He means to say, it is clear to every one that Jugurtha prefers his kingdom to the friendship of the Roman people.
 — 6. *Quæ* (§ 99, Obs. 8.) *sane fuerint*, "Whatever indeed may have been our injuries," i. e., "injuries done to us:" — *nihil ad vos*, "it did not concern you." — 7. *Quanti fecerit*, "How much he valued." § 133, Exc. This clause is the object of *declarant*. — 8. *Quid reliquum*, &c., "What is there left by which he can be moved:" — *vana forent*, "were groundless:" — *fidem verbis faceret*, "should gain credit to my words." — 9. *Eo*, "To this end," "to this fate:" — *ut Jugurthæ scelerum ostentui (aliis) essent*, "that I should be a spectacle (to others) of the villanies," &c., i. e., "that I should serve to display (to others) the villanies of Jugurtha." § 114, R. xix.: — *uti libet*, "as you please," lit., "as it pleases you."

XXV.—1. *Fuere, qui — censcrunt*, § 141, Obs. 1, "Some gave it as their opinion:" — *Adherbali subveniundum (esse)*, "that assistance should be rendered to Adherbal." § 112, R. v.: — *de Jugurtha*, &c., "that in the meantime it should be deliberated," i. e., "that the senate should deliberate concerning Jugurtha;" in other words, "that the conduct of Jugurtha should be taken into consideration." — 2. *Summa ope enisum (est)*, — impers. — "Every effort was made." It appears the effort too was successful. — 3. *Majores natu*, "Young men" (*adolescentes*) had been sent before, Ch. XXI.; now "elderly men" are sent; i. e., men of more influence and weight of character: — *M. Scaurus*. Ch. XV., 4: — *in senatu princeps*, "the leader in the senate." The senator was called *princeps* whose name was first marked in the censor's list of senators. This, though it bestowed no privilege, was esteemed a high honor, carrying with it the judgment of the censor, that he was the most worthy. — 4. *Res in invidia erat*, "The affair was involved in great odium:" — *navim ascendere*, "embarked." § 144, Obs. 6: — *quam omissime*, "as speedily as possible." § 134, Obs. 6, 3d: — *ad provinciam accedat*, "to come to the province," scil., of Africa. The expression *litteras mittunt* implies a command, hence the subjunctive following it; *ut* being understood. § 145, Obs. 5, 3d. Before the clause *seque ad*, &c., supply *dicentes*, "saying." — 5. *Metu atque libidine diversus* (§ 98, Obs. 10.) *agita-*

batur, "Was variously agitated by fear and ambition:" — *cupidine cæcus*, "blinded by his eagerness (for dominion):" — *ad inceptum*, &c., "urged him on to the wicked enterprise already begun." — 6. *Vicit*, "Prevailed:" — *exercitu circumdato*, "his army being posted around (on every side):" — *Cirtam*, i. e., *in Cirtam*. This ellipsis is nearly peculiar to Sallust: — *diducta manu hostium*, "the force of the enemy being divided," viz., to meet the troops of Jugurtha making an attack on every side: — *casum victoriae*, "a chance of victory." — 7. *Quod ubi*, "When this." — 8. *Multa tamen oratione consumpta*, "Yet after a long debate," lit., "many words being wasted:" — *frustra*, "without having accomplished their object."

XXVI.—1. *Italici*, the same as *togati*. Ch. XXI.: — *defensabantur*, "were wont to be vigorously defended." Observe the force of the frequentative, and the imperfect. § 44, II., 1: — *deditione facta*, "if (or when) a surrender should be made." § 146, Obs. 9: — *tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur*, "that he should stipulate with him only for his life:" — *fore*, used impersonally, "that it would be." — 2. *Potiora fide*, "More to be relied on than the promise:" — *penes eosdem (erat)*, "he was in their power." — 3. *In primis*, "Among the first things:" — *excruciatum necat* = *excruciat et necat*, "tortures and puts to death," lit., "puts to death after being tortured:" — *negotiatores*, "the merchants," viz., the *Italici* above. This took place B. C. 112.

XXVII.—1. *Quod postquam*, "After this." § 99, Obs. 8: — *ministri regis*, "tools of the king" (seil., of Jugurtha); i. e., those senators who, by the bribes of Jugurtha, had been induced to defend him at all hazards: — *interpellando*, "by interrupting" the course of business: — *jurgiis*, "by altercations:" — *lenicbant*, "endeavored to soften." § 44, II., 2. — 2. *Vir acer*, "A spirited man:" — *id agi*, "that it was in agitation," i. e., "that the plan was:" — *perfecto omnis invidia*, &c., "undoubtedly all indignation (against the conduct of Jugurtha) would have passed away by protracting the debates." — 3. *Delicti conscientia*, "From a consciousness of guilt." — 4. *Lege Semproniana*. Previous to this law provinces were assigned by the senate to the consuls after their election, or after they entered on their office. This gave rise often to corrupt intrigues with the senators, on the part of the consuls, for particular

provinces. To prevent this in future, C. Sempronius Gracchus got a law passed, B. C. 122, ordaining that the senate should determine the two provinces for the future consuls before their election. The consuls afterwards themselves determined their respective provinces by lot or agreement. — 5. *Obvenit*, "Fell to the lot." Italy was not a province in the ordinary sense of the term. But the consul under whose administration it was placed remained at Rome, and was to be ready for any war that might break out: — *scribitur*, "is levied," "enrolled:" — *stipendium*, "money." *Stipendium* from *stips*, "a small coin," in military language, means "money for the pay of the army."

XXVIII.—1. *Omnia venum ire* (subject of *hæserat*), "That all things were venal," lit., "went to sale." *Veneo* (contracted from *venum eo*) means, "to be sold"—*vendo*, i. e., *venum do*, not being used in the passive: — *quos—miserat*. See Ch. XIII.: — *aggrediantur*, "to accost," "to make trial of." § 145, Obs. 5, 3d, and § 140, Obs. 5. — 2. *Qui postquam*, "After they:" — *placeretne*, "whether it was their pleasure:" — *recipi manibus*, "should be received within the walls." The Romans did not always admit ambassadors from foreign states within the walls. To those who were not admitted, a hearing was usually given in a *villa publica*, or in the temple of Bellona without the city. But the question now was, whether the ambassadors of Jugurtha should be heard at all: — *deditum* (supine), "to surrender:" — *in diebus proximis decem*, "within the ten days ensuing." — 3. *Legat sibi*, "Chooses for his lieutenants:" — *quorum auctoritate*, &c., "by whose influence he hoped those things which he might do amiss would be sheltered," i. e., screened from punishment: — *supra*. See Ch. XV., 4. — 4. *In consule nostro*, scil. *Calpurnio*: — *inde Siciliam*, usually *in Siciliam*. § 130, Obs. 10.

XXIX.—1. *Pecunia tentare*, "To tempt him (Calpurnius) with money:" — *aninus æger avaritia*, "his mind corrupted (lit., sick) with avarice." — 2. *A principio*, "At first:" — *ex factione ejus*, "of his party," i. e., of the nobles: — *impugnaverat*, "had opposed:" — *pecuniæ*, "of the bribe." — 3. *Redimebat*, "Attempted to purchase:" — *participem negotii*, "a sharer of the business," viz., with Calpurnius: — *cum eis de omnibus*, &c., "to treat in person with them about all the stipulations." — 4. *Fidei causa*, "To inspire Jugurtha with confidence," lit., "for the sake of confidence:" — *mittitur*, "is sent" (viz., as a hostage): — *species*, "the pretence:"

— *deditionis mora*, &c., “a truce was observed on account of the delay connected with the surrender.” — 5. *Præsenti consilio*, “In the presence of the council.” The council of war usually consisted of the commander as president—his legates—the tribunes of the soldiers, and the oldest centurion in the legion: — *de invidia facti sui*, “concerning the odium of his conduct:” — *secreta* = *secretò*, “secretly,” “in private.” § 98, Obs. 10,—opposed to *præsenti consilio*: — *quasi per saturam*, &c., the votes having been taken “in gross,” “confusedly,” i. e., not *seriatim*, by calling the names and marking each vote, but *en masse*. The expression is taken from *lanx satura*, “a full dish” offered as a sacrifice to the gods, and containing different kinds of fruit which were thus presented, not separately and distinctly, but confusedly, in the gross. The figurative application to other mixtures is here indicated by *quasi*. — 6. *Pro consilio*, “Before,” i. e., “in the council:” — *ad magistratus rogandos*, “to hold an election of magistrates.” This duty devolved on Calpurnius, as Scipio the other consul was now dead. In the elective assembly, the president (usually the consul) asks the people (*rogat populum*) to appoint new officers. Hence the term *rogare* in this sense: — *agita-batur*, “prevailed,” i. e., all was quiet.

XXX.—1. *Quoque modo actæ forent*, “And in what manner they had been managed:” — *de facto consulis agitari* (hist. inf. = *agita-batur*), lit., “there was conversation concerning the conduct of the consul.” i. e., “the conduct of the consul was the subject of conversation.” — 2. *Gravis invidia (erat)*, “There was great indignation:” — *parum constabat* (scil., *iis* or *patribus*), “it was not clear to them,” i. e., they were at a loss. — 3. *Quod is—ferebatur*, “Because he was said,” &c. This clause is parenthetical: — *concionibus*, “in his public harangues:” — *hortari, monere, ostendere*—historical infinitives, of which C. Memmius is the subject: — *accendebat*, “he aroused.” — 4. *Ac potissimum ea dicam quæ . . . disseruit*, “And above all others will I relate those things which he delivered.”

XXXI.—1. *Dehortantur a vobis* (the indicative is more animated than the subjunctive *dehortentur*), “Would dissuade me from you,” i. e., from undertaking your cause: — *Quirites*, “Romans.” The Quirites originally were the inhabitants of Cures a city of the Sabines. After the Sabines and Romans were united by Romulus under one government, the name *Quirites* was taken in addition to *Romani*.

When distinguished, *Quirites* is applied to the Romans in a civil, and *Romani* in a political or military capacity: — *opes factionis*, scil., *nobilium*: — *patientia*, “tameless,” “submissiveness under injuries:” — *innocentie plus periculi*—*est*. § 112, R. ii. These four clauses are in apposition with *multa* and explain it. — 2. *His annis quindecim*, § 131, R. xli., “How for fifteen years,” i. e., since B. C. 125. At that time, the aristocracy gained a decisive victory through the prætor L. Opimius, who destroyed the town of Fregellæ, and thereby crushed the first attempt of the Italian allies (*socii*) to obtain the Roman franchise. The power of the nobles was increased also by the fall of the Gracchi, who espoused the cause of the people; the elder of whom was slain by Scipio some years before, and the younger a few years later (scil., B. C. 121) by L. Opimius. See below, Note 5.—These three clauses beginning with *quam* and *ut*, “how,” are in apposition with, and explain *illa*: — *vestri defensores*, alluding to the Gracchi: — *ab ignavia*, “in consequence of,” or, “on account of your cowardice.” — *qui ne nunc*, &c., “that you do not even now arise when your enemies are in your power, and even now you are afraid of them.” The nobles were, many of them, liable to punishment on account of the part they had taken in respect to the affairs of Jugurtha: — *quibus decet (vos) esse terrori*. § 114, R. xix. — 3. *Animus subigit*, “My feelings compel me:” — *experiar*, “I will use:” — *id frustra an ob rem faciam*, “whether I shall do that in vain or with advantage.” In double questions the interrogative particle (*utrum* or *ne* enclitic) is often omitted with the first. § 140, Note. — 4. *Neque ego vos hortor quod*, i. e., *facere id quod*: — *præcipientes eant*, “go to ruin:” — *secessione*. § 118, R. xxii. See Cat. XXXIII., 5: — *ipsi* in the nominative plural, with *vos* understood: — *suomet more*, “in their own way,” i. e., as the natural consequence of their vices and crimes. — 5. *Occiso Tib. Graccho*. This took place about 22 years before this. The nobles by different means had made themselves masters of all the lands of Italy, and by degrees removed the common people from their possessions. This abuse roused Tib. Gracchus to revive the Licinian law, by which no one could hold more than 500 jugera, or about 350 acres of land. His object was, to have the public lands divided among the citizens. He was slain in a collision between his adherents and the party of the nobility, headed by Scipio, B. C. 133. Twelve years afterwards, his brother Caius, and likewise M. Fulvius, in seeking to promote the same object, was slain by the consul Opimius and his party: — *quem*, “who.” § 145, Obs. 2: — *questiones*

habitæ sunt, "prosecutions were instituted." — 6. *Sed sane fuerit*, &c., "But grant that it may have been an aiming at sovereign power (on the part of the Gracchi) to attempt to restore to the people their rights:" — *quicquid sine sanguine*, &c., "that every thing which cannot be punished without shedding the blood of citizens may have been done justly" (Grant I say all this, for the sake of argument, still, there are other wrongs to excite your indignation, for, &c.). — 7. *Superioribus annis*, "In years past:" — *summam gloriam*, "that the highest honors," i. e., civil and military offices: — *tamen . . . parum habuere*, "yet they have esteemed it a small matter:"—"too little." — 8. *Per ora vestra*, "Before your very faces:" — *ea (esse sibi) honori*, § 114, R. xix.: so next sentence, *quibus questui sunt*. — 9. *Imperio nati*, "Born to dominion." § 112, R. xvii. — 10. *Pars eorum*, &c., "Some of them consider their having the tribunes of the people (referring to the Gracchi), others their iniquitous prosecutions, &c.,—for their security." The infinitives here are regarded as verbal nouns, and are, like *questiones*, the object of *habent*. — 11. *Ita quam quisque*, &c., "Thus the more wickedly a person has acted, the safer he is." Here *pessime* and *maxime* are used with the construction of the comparative,—a usage not common in Latin, and which cannot be literally translated into English: — *metum a scelere suo*, &c., "they have shifted fear from their own guilt to your cowardice," = *a se sceleratis ad vos ignavos*, i. e., the fear, which they ought themselves to feel on account of their wickedness, they have shifted to you giving way to cowardice: — *quos omnes eadem*, &c., "all whom their coveting the same things, hating the same things, and fearing the same things, has brought together into one;"—here the infinitive clauses are the subject of *cogit*. § 101, R. iv., Expl. Compare Cat., Ch. XX., *Idem velle*, &c. — 12. *Inter malos factio est*, "Amongst the wicked, it is faction." — 13. *Quod si tam vos*, &c. Here we have an anacoluthon, § 150, 3, 5th: the writer begins as if he intended the second clause to be, *quam illi dominationis*, and ends as if the first clause had been—*si tam vos accensi essetis ad libertatis curam*: — *beneficia vestra*, namely, the offices and honors in the gift of the people. — 14. *Parta amittere*, "To lose what has been acquired." This clause is the subject of *est*. — 15. *Vindicandum in eos*, i. e., *Num censes vindicandum esse in eos?* &c., "Do you think that punishment should be inflicted on those?" &c.: — *Non manu*, &c. The first part of this answer is to be supplied from the question; thus, *Censeo equidem vindicandum, non manu*, &c., "not by force nor by

violence:" — *questionibus et indicio*, "by legal investigations and the testimony:" — *si dedititius est*, "if he has surrendered." — **16.** *Nisi forte*, "Unless perhaps." This is spoken with strong irony: — *illa quam hec tempora magis placent*, "the former times (viz., those subsequent to the death of the Græchi) please more than these latter," i. e., the present times: — *satis habebatis*, "considered it enough." — **17.** *In perniciem casura esset*, "Were to end in your destruction." — **18.** *Quantum importunitatis habent*, "Such arrogance have they;" in full form, *pro tanta importunitate, quantum importunitatis habent*. § 99, Obs. 10: — *aut serviundum esse (vobis)*, &c., "that either you must be slaves, or your liberty must be retained by force." — **19.** *Que nisi quasita crunt*, "Unless these things (§ 99, Obs. 8.) be inquired into." — **20.** *Id est (cum) esse regem*, "That is, to be a tyrant." Such is the meaning of *rex* here. The regular construction would be *esse rex*. § 103, Obs. 6. — **21.** *Perperam quam recte*, "Wrong than right:" — *sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eatis* (= *perdati*, § 148, Obs. 1.), "but that you should not ruin honest men by pardoning villains." — **22.** *Ubi neglegas* = *si negligas*: — *auxilii* (scil., *bonorum*) *egeas*.

XXXII.—1. *Interposita fide publica*, "By pledging the public faith for his safety." § 146, Obs. 2. So in the next clause: — *quos pecunie capte arcescebant*, "whom they accused of taking bribes." § 122, R. xxvii. *Arcesso* signifies "to call," scil., into a court of justice, hence, "to accuse:" — *Scauri et reliquorum . . . delicta*. See Ch. XXIV. — **2.** *Qui*, i. e., *ii qui*, "Those who." § 99, Obs. 1, 4th. — **3.** *Fucre, qui*, "Some." § 141, Obs. 1: — *elephantos*, viz., those surrendered to the Romans by Jugurtha. Chap. XXIX. ad fin.: — *alii—pars*, "Some—others:" — *ex pacatis*, "from those who were at peace with us." — **4.** *Perlata rogatione a C. Memmio*, "The bill proposed by C. Memmius having been carried through," i. e., "having become a law;" namely, to send Cassius to Jugurtha;—called *rogatio*, because he who proposed it *asked* (*rogavit*) the people (*ut jubeat*) that they would order it by their vote to become a law, enact it: — *ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis*, "from a sense of guilt despairing of his ease:" — *ne vim quam misericordiam ejus* (scil., *populi Romani*) *experiri mallet*, "not to choose to make trial of their power rather than of their clemency"—*quam* after *magis* implied in *mallet*. — **5.** *Ille*, "He," scil., Jugurtha: — *non minoris . . . ducebat*, "valued not less." § 133, Exe.

XXXIII.—1. *Contra decus regium* (In a manner) “Contrary to regal dignity.” — **2.** *Parat*, “He gains over:” — *cujus* = *ut ejus*. § 141, Obs. 2, 4th. — **3.** *Pars*, scil., *jubebat*: — *de (eo) hoste*, “on him as an enemy:” — *dignitati quam iræ magis consulens*, “having regard to honor (scil., his own and that of the Roman people), rather than to their rage:” — *confirmare*, “assured them,” hist. inf.: — *per sese*, “to the utmost of his power.” — **4.** *Verba facit*, “He (Memmius) addresses him:” — *Romæ Numidiæque*, “at Rome and in Numidia.” *Numidiæ* seems to be put in the genitive by attraction with *Romæ*, though the rule requires *in Numidia*. § 130, Obs. 10. — **5.** *Quibus juvantibus*, &c. This clause depends on *intellegat* following; thus, *Quancquam populus Romanus intellegat, quibus juvantibus*, &c., “By whose assistance, and by what instruments he did these things:” — *tamen (eum, scil., populum Romanum) velle*, “nevertheless they wished.” — **6.** *Non sociis saluti fore*, “That he (Jugurtha) would not bring safety to his associates.” § 114, R. xix.: — *corrupturum (esse)*, “that he would ruin.”

XXXIV.—1. *Quem pecunia corruptum (esse)*, &c., “Who we said above (Ch. XXXIII.) had been corrupted by a bribe:” — *terrebat*, “endeavored to frighten him,” scil., Bæbius. § 44, II., 2: — *quæ ira fieri amat*, “which anger is accustomed to employ,” lit., “which anger loves to be done.” — **2.** *Animi augescunt*, “Courage revives”—“increases.”

XXXV.—1. *Dedita Cirta* (§ 146, Obs. 9.), “When Cirta was surrendered.” Ch. XXVI. — **2.** *Proximo anno*, &c., “The next year after Bestia was consul with Q. Minucius Rufus,” i. e., B. c. 110: — *huic . . . persuadet*, “advises him,” viz., Massiva: — *petat*, “to ask.” § 145, Obs. 5, 3d, and § 140, Obs. 5: — *invidia cum metu*, “public odium and his own fears.” — **3.** *Belli gerundi*, “Of carrying on some war.” The attempt to transfer the kingdom from Jugurtha to Massiva, he knew would of course lead to war. — **4.** *Proximo*, “A partisan:” — *pretio . . . insidiatores Massivæ paret*, “to hire assassins against Massiva,”—same construction as *petat* above: — *ac maxime occulte*, &c. Arrange, *ac interficiat Numidam maxime occulte*, &c., “secretly, if possible.” — **5.** *Talis negotii artifices*, “Expert in such business.” — **6.** *Ex eo numero*, = *ex numero eorum*, and hence *qui* in the plural: — *indiciu[m] profitetur*, “makes a disclosure.” — **7.** *Fit reus*, “Is put on trial:” — *quam ex jure gentium*, “than ac-

cording to the law of nations." According to the law of nations, the public faith promised to Jugurtha protected also his retinue. — 8. *Manifestus tanti sceleris*, "Though clearly guilty of so great a wickedness:" — *animum advertit*, same as *animadvertit*, "he perceived:" — *supra gratiam*, &c., "that the odium of the deed was beyond his influence." — 9. *In priore actione*, "In the first stage of the proceeding:" — *vades*, "as bail," "as sureties:" — *veritus ne*. § 140, Obs. 6: — *populares*, "his countrymen," "his subjects:" — *metus . . . parendi sibi*, "fear to obey him:" — *de illo*, scil., *Bomilcare*.

XXXVI.—1. *Ante comitia*, "Before the election," viz., for new magistrates. The performance of some great exploit might then be turned to his own account. — 2. *Trahere*, "Protracted:" — *facere*, "invented:" — *cedere* (scil., *Albino*) *instanti*, "retreated before Albinus pressing on:" — *ne sui diffident*, "that his own soldiers might not lose confidence in him:" — *ludificare*, "trifled with," "baffled." — 3. *Tam facile tractum (esse) bellum*, &c., "That the war had been protracted so easily from carelessness, rather than from design." — 4. *Pro prætor*, "As commander-in-chief" (in his absence). This is the primary meaning of *prætor*.

XXXVII.—1. *Seditionibus tribuniciis*, "By contentions among the tribunes." — 2. *Continuare magistratum*, "To continue their office for another year:" lit., "to join another term of office" (to the one past): — *quæ dissensio*, "a dispute which:" — *quem*, "who," subject of *relictum (esse)*. § 145, Obs. 2: — *aut terrore*, &c. Arrange, *aut capiundæ pecuniæ* ("of extorting money") *ab rege, terrore exercitus*. — 3. *Quod quanquam*, "Although this (town):" — *et sævitia temporis*, "both on account of the inclemency of the season:" — *opportunitate*, "the advantageous situation:" — *planities limosa*, "the plain full of mud." — 4. *Simulandi gratia*, "For the purpose of a feint:" — *aut cupidine*, &c. Arrange, *aut cæcus cupidine potiundi oppidi ob thesauros*: — *vincas agere* (historical infinitives), "he erects the vineæ." Ch. XXI, 5: — *aggerem jacere*, "threw up a mound." The *agger* was a mound of earth, stones, hurdles, &c., thrown up against the walls of a besieged town, beginning at a distance, and rising gradually as it approached, till it equalled or exceeded the height of the walls. It was defended by towers (Ch. XXI, 5.), from which missiles were thrown against the enemy.

XXXVIII.—1. *Subdolos ejus augere amentiam*, "Craftily increased his (Aulus's) madness"—hist. infin.: — *vitabundus*, "trying to shun him:" — *ductare*, "frequently led." Note the force of the frequentatives. — 2. *Spe pactionis*, "By the hope of a good bargain:" — *sese veluti cedentem insequeretur*, "to pursue him (Jugurtha) as if fleeing before him:" — *ita*, (i. e., *dixit ita*) *delicta occultiora fore*, (he said) "that in this way their treachery would be better concealed:" i. e., of Aulus and his soldiers. — 3. *Tentabat*, "He tampered with:" — *partim—alii = alii—alii*, "some—others," distributing *centuriones ducesque*. — 4. *Que . . . instruit*, "He arranged these things:" — *ex sententia*, "to his mind." — 5. *Trepidare omnibus locis*, "Consternation every where prevailed," lit., "They ran about every where in trepidation:" — *anceps periculum*, "danger on all sides:" — *fugere an manere*, i. e., *utrum fugere*, &c. See Ch. XXXI., 3, *Id frustra*, &c.: — *tutius foret*. § 98, Obs. 6. — 6. *Ex eo numero, quos*. See Ch. XXXV., 6: — *cohors*, "a cohort"—the tenth part of a legion of infantry, usually about 420: — *turma*, "a troop," about 30—the complement of cavalry belonging to a cohort. The Ligurians were a numerous and powerful people of Cisalpine Gaul. The Thracians, a brave but uncivilized people, inhabited the mountainous country on the western shore of the Euxine sea, between Mount Hæmus on the north and Propontis on the south. — 7. *Centurio primi pili*, "The centurion of the first rank," i. e., the chief centurion. The Roman legion consisted of ten cohorts, and each cohort, of three maniples, of which, when drawn up in battle array, that which stood in the foremost rank consisted of *hastati*, that in the second, of *principes* and that in the third, of *triarii* or *pilani*, each of which had its *centurio*, sometimes two, named from the line to which he belonged. The lines were separated by a considerable space between, and engaged the enemy separately. If the first was overpowered and driven back, the second came forward; if that was driven back, the third line, consisting of the *triarii*, old soldiers of approved valor, kept in reserve, fresh and vigorous, fell upon the exhausted enemy, and usually turned the tide of battle. The centurion or captain of this manipule was called *centurio primi pili*, or chief centurion; he had charge of the eagle or chief standard, ranked among the *equites*, and had a place in the council of war with the consul and tribunes. The treachery of such an officer may therefore be deemed the more surprising, and the more disastrous. — 8. *Per munitionem*, &c. Arrange, *Dedit hostibus locum introeundi per munitionem quam acceperat uti defenderet*: — *caque*

seil., *via*, "and by this way." — 9. *Hostes*, seil., the Numidians: — *quo minus victoria ulerentur*, "from using their victory to advantage." § 15, II., 3. — 10. (*Dicit*) *tametsi*, &c., *teneat*, in accordance with the rules for oblique narration, should properly be in the subjunctive, *teneat*. § 141, R. vi., Expl. in fin.: — *fame et ferro clausum*. Here is a zeugma, *clausum* in sense being connected only with *ferro*, though in construction with *fame* also: — *se—secum*, referring to Jugurtha: — *sub jugum*, "under the yoke." The *jugum* consisted of two spears set upright, across which, at the top, a third was placed horizontally in the form of a gallows. The conquered army, divested of their armor (*nudi*), passed under this as a token of ignominy and subjection. — 11. *Que quanquam*, "Although these things." § 99, Obs. 8: — *quia mortis metu mutabantur*, "because they were exchanged for the fear of death."

XXXIX.—1. *Timere libertati*, "Feared for their liberty," i. e., the loss of it. § 112, Obs. 7. — 2. *De fœdere*, "Concerning the treaty," viz., that made by Aulus with Jugurtha. Here the imperfect, *consulebat*, and the historical infinitives, *scribere*, *arcessere*, &c., are connected in construction. § 101, Obs. 6. *Scribere* means "to enlist;" because the names of soldiers selected were written down on tables: — *ab sociis et nomine Latino*, "from the allies (i. e., the Italians), and the people of Latium," i. e., the Latin nation. — 3. *Decernit*, "Voted." § 44, I., 3. — 4. *Ne secum portaret*, "From carrying with him." § 45, II., 3: — *uti convenerat*, "as had been agreed," seil., in the treaty. — 5. *Mederi fraternæ invidiæ*, "To wipe off the odium of his brother's misconduct:" — *cognitis militibus*, "on reviewing the soldiers." § 146, Obs. 2: — *solutio imperio*, "discipline being relaxed:" — *corruerat*. § 102, Obs. 1: — *ex copia rerum*, "with his present means," "in present circumstances."

XL.—1. *Rogationem promulgat*, "Proposes a bill." Ch. XXXII., 4. — 2. *Huic rogationi . . . impedimenta parabant* (§ 123, R. xxix.), "Raised obstructions to this bill:" — *ex partium invidia*, "from the odium attached to their parties:" — *quàm faterentur*, "without confessing." — 3. *Sed plebes*, &c. Arrange, *Sed incredibile est memoratu quam intenta plebes fuerit*: — *jusserit*, *decreverit*, *voluerit*, "they ordered, decreed, willed." Three words nearly synonymous, in this use of them, show the ardor of the commons in this matter: — *cui* (seil., *robilitati*) *illa mala parabantur*, "against whom these evils (seil., pro-

secutions, exile, &c.) were preparing." — 4. *Quem*, "Who," subject of *fuisse*: — *supra docuimus*, viz., Ch. XXVIII. and XXIX.: — *trepida etiam tum civitate*, "the city being still in a state of agitation:" — *tres quæsitores rogarentur*, "three commissioners were appointed:" — *effecerat*, "had procured:" i. e., *M. Scaurus effecerat*. By this adroit movement, he escaped being tried himself. — 5. *Quæstio exercita (est)*, &c., "The investigation was conducted with harshness and violence, under the influence of mere rumor, and the humor of the commons," i. e., mere rumor and popular feeling were substituted for evidence: — *ex secundis rebus*, "in consequence of their success."

XLI.—1. *Prima*, "Of the first importance." — 2. *Ante Carthaginem deletam*, § 146, Obs. 2. Carthage was destroyed 35 years before the Jugurthine war: — *metus hostilis* = *metus hostium*, "fear of their enemies." — 3. *Scilicet*, "Naturally," render thus, "Those things which prosperity naturally produces, wantonness and pride, prevailed." — 4. *Ita (otium) quod*, &c., "Thus the peace which they had wished for in adversity," viz., in the disasters of the Punic wars: — *asperius acerbisque (rebus adversis, or, quam res ipsæ adversæ)*, "was more dangerous and troublesome (than adversity itself)." — 5. *Sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere*, "Every one pilfered, seized, plundered for himself." These words seem to be chosen to indicate a progress in corruption and violence. — 6. *Nobilitas factione*, "The nobility in their faction:" — *plebis vis*, &c., "the power of the commons, being loose and divided among a multitude." — 7. *Agitabatur (impers.)*, "Affairs were managed:" — *urguebatur*, "were harassed," "crushed down:" — *cum paucis*, "with a few others." — 8. *Sine modo modestiaque*, "Without measure or moderation:" — *invadere*, &c., historical infinitives: — *nihil pensi, neque sancti habere*, &c., "it (avarice) accounted nothing serious or sacred, till it destroyed itself." — 9. *Reperti sunt, qui*, referring to the Gracchi: — *permixtio terræ*, "a chaos," "a mixture of elements."

XLII.—1. *Quorum majores*. The Gracchi, on the side of their mother Cornelia, were grandsons of the elder Africanus: — *vindicare plebem in libertatem*, "to assert the freedom of the commons:" — *noxia atque eo pereulsa*, "being guilty and therefore struck with terror:" — *spes societatis*, "the hope of an alliance" (scil., with the nobility). The *equites* were a sort of middle class between the nobles and the commons, and took part with the one or the other as their

inclination or interest dictated: — *actionibus obriam verat*, “had opposed the proceedings:” — *eadem ingredientem*, “entering on the same course:” — *triumvirum coloniis deducendis*, “a triumvir (i. e., one of the three commissioners) for planting colonies.” See above, Ch. XXX., 5. — 2. *Sed bono vinci*, &c., “But for a good man it is better to be overcome, than by unlawful means to triumph over an injury.” — 3. *Ea victoria . . . usa*, “Improving that victory” (scil., over the Gracchi): — *plusque in reliquum*, &c., “and increased their fears more than their power for the future.” — 4. *De studiis partium*, “Concerning the contentions of parties.”

XLIII.—1. *Consules designati*. Cat., Ch. XVIII., 3: — *inter se partiverant*. Ch. XXVII., 4: — *adverso populi partium*, “opposed to the popular party.” § 111, Obs. 2. Q. Cæcilius Metellus, whose rank and character is here described, conducted the war against Jugurtha with great skill and success for nearly two years, and had brought it nearly to a close, when he was removed from the command by the intrigues of Marius who succeeded him. He was subsequently honored with a triumph, and received the surname Numidicus on account of his success in this war. — 2. *Alia omnia (esse) sibi cum collega*, “That all other things belonged to him with his colleague,” i. e., were common to both. — 3. *Præsidia*, “Auxiliaries:” — *affatim*, “in abundance:” — *in bello vario*, &c., “in a war varied (liable to various exigencies), and requiring many things;” here *egenti* agrees with *bello* to be supplied in the dative. § 114, R. xix. — 4. *Ad ea patranda*, “For the accomplishment of these things.” This is an adjunct of *nitebatur*, “exerted themselves.” This verb here has for its subject *socii*, *nomen Latinum*, *reges*, and *civitas*; but agrees in number with the last. § 102, Obs. 3 in fin. — 5. *Quum—tum*, “Not only—but also,” or, “both—and:” — *adversum divitias invictum animum*, “a mind proof against money:” — *nostræ opes*, &c., “our power had been impaired, and that of the enemy increased.”

XLIV.—1. *Iners*, *imbellis*, &c. These adjectives all qualify *exercitus*: — *prædator*, applied also to *exercitus*, and equivalent to *prædas agens*: — *sine imperio et modestia habitus*, “having been kept without discipline or restraint.” — 2. *Æstivorum (castrorum) tempus*, “The time of the summer campaign,” lit., “of the summer camp:” — *mora*, “the delay,” “the lateness:” — *non prius bellum*, &c., “not to enter on the war, until, by the discipline of their ancestors, he

had obliged the soldiers to endure fatigue." — 3. *Quantum temporis æstivorum*, i. e., *tantum temporis æstivorum quantum fuit in imperio* (§ 99, Obs. 10. (1)), "During as much time of the summer campaign as he was in command." This clause modifies the following, *plerumque milites*, &c.: — *stativis castris*, "in a standing camp:" — *odos* (same as *odor*), "the stench," viz., arising from so many men remaining a long time in the same place. — 4. *Ea*, scil., *castra stativa*: — *neque . . . vigiliæ deducebantur*, "nor were the watches kept." — 5. *Lixæ*, "Suttlers:" — *certantes*, "emulously," lit., "striving with each other:" — *vino advectifio*, "for foreign wine:" — *publicæ*, "by the government:" — *quæcunque . . . ignaviæ luxuriæque probra*, "whatever scandalous effects of idleness and luxury."

XLV.—1. *Tanta temperantia . . . moderatum*, "Regulated with so great moderation between courting favor (by indulgence) on the one hand, and by harshness on the other." — 2. *Adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse*, "That he removed the encouragements to sloth," scil., by ordering: — *ne quisquam*, "that no one;"—*sustulisse* here, and *statisse* below, depend on *comperior*: — *arte*, for *arcte*, "strictly." — 3. *Transversis itineribus*, "By cross roads:" — *movere, munire*, &c.; historical infinitives: — *vallo atque fossa munire*. It was customary to fortify the camp always with a rampart and a ditch, even if they remained but for one night. — 4. *Ut . . . frequentes incederent*, "That they marched in a body"—opposed to *palantes*, in a straggling manner. — 5. *Exercitum brevi confirmavit*, "He rendered the army efficient in a short time."

XLVI.—1. *De innocentia ejus*, "Of his incorruptible integrity." — 2. *Cum suppliciis*, "With humble petitions:" — *qui . . . peterent*, "to ask." § 141, Obs. 2, 4th. — 3. *Sed Metello*, &c. Arrange, *Sed jam antea experimentis, genus Numidarum cognitum erat Metello, esse infidum*, &c. — 4. *Legatos alium ab alio diversos aggreditur*, "He applies to the ambassadors apart one from another:" — *opportunos sibi*, "subservient to him:" — *maxime*, "by all means," "if possible:" — *quæ ex voluntate forent*, "what would be in accordance with his wishes." — 5. *Ubi contra belli faciem*, "Where, contrary to the (usual) appearance of war:" — *mapalibus*, "villages," consisting of huts (*mapalia*, Ch. XVIII.). — 6. *Munito agmine incedere*, (list. inf.), "Advanced with his army guarded," viz., against any sudden attack: — *i'la deditionis signa*, "that those indications of surrender,"

viz., the unexpected appearance of things, and the conduct of the Numidians just mentioned: — *ostentui (esse)*, “were intended for show:” — *et insidiis locum tentari*, “and that a place for an ambuscade was sought,” viz., by Jugurtha where the army of Metellus might be attacked with advantage, *insidiis locum*. § 110, R. xv. — 7. *C. Marius*. This celebrated Roman general, now legatus under Metellus, was a native of Arpinum, a small town of Latium. He entered the army as a common soldier, and gradually rose to the command of the army and the office of consul. He succeeded Metellus in the conduct of the Jugurthine war, and successfully brought it to a close (Ch. XLIII., 1.). His ambition brought him into collision with Sulla, and a desolating civil war was the consequence, in which his cruel and vindictive character was manifested. After a long life of varied fortunes, at the close of which he gave himself up to excessive intoxication, he died on the first day of his being invested with the consulship for the seventh time. (See a full account of him Ch. LXIII.) — 8. *Velites*, “The light-armed troops.” These did not form a part of the legion, but fought in scattered parties where occasion required: — *equitatus* (plur.) *hostium*, “troops of the enemies’ cavalry.” — 9. *Ut, absens . . . in incerto haberetur*, “That it was considered uncertain whether he was more dangerous when absent,” &c.

XLVII.—1. *Forum rerum venalium*, &c., “The most celebrated mart of the whole kingdom for the sale of commodities,” lit., “for articles to be sold.” — 2. *Huc consul*, &c. The text in this sentence is very unsettled, and the meaning not very clear. The text here given may be rendered thus, “Here the consul placed a garrison both for the purpose of testing (the inhabitants), and, if they would permit, of proving the advantages of the place.” — 3. *Frequentiam negotiatorum*, &c., “That the great number of traders and the corn would be an advantage to his army, and a protection to the supplies already provided.” — 4. *Impensius modo*, “Now more earnestly (than before, Ch. XLVI., 2.):” — *dedere*, “surrendered,” i. e., “offered to surrender.” — 5. *Quos item*, &c., “These also the consul sent home, as he had sent the former, enticed to destroy (their master):” — *promissa*, “the (fulfilment of the) promises.”

XLVIII.—1. *Se suis artibus tentari*, “That he (Jugurtha) was attacked with his own stratagems:” — *quippe cui verbis*, &c., “since peace was held out to him in words, but in fact a very grievous war

was going on : ” — *alienata (est)*, “ was separated from him : ” — *ager*, “ the country. ” — 2. *Tractu pari*, &c., “ At a uniform distance of about twenty miles : ” i. e., running parallel with the river from south to north : — *vastus ab natura et humano cultu*, “ desolate by nature, and (for the want of) human cultivation. ” — 3. *Ex eo medio (spatio) quasi collis*, “ From the middle of this space (scil., between the river and the mountain) a sort of hill : ” — *in immensum pertingens*, “ stretching a great distance,” viz., across the plain, or, in a transverse direction from west to east—as mentioned in the next chapter : — *humi arido atque arenoso*, “ in a dry and sandy soil. ” This is a singular mode of expression. *Humi*, the genitive form commonly used as an adverb, “ on the ground,” here is regarded as a phrase, and has the adjective with it in the ablative and in the neuter gender. In ordinary language it would be *in humo arida*. — 4. *Media planities*, “ The intervening plain : ” i. e., the sandy plain between the river and the mountain : — *ea (loca) consita arbustis*, “ overgrown with brushwood. ”

XLIX.—1. *Extenuata suorum acie*, “ The line of his men being diminished in depth, by extending its length : ” — *propior montem*. § 136, Obs. 5 : — *ducem illis, non animum mutatum*, “ that their general, not their spirit, was changed. ” — 2. *Quæ ab imperatore*, &c. Arrange and supply thus, *Omnia provisæ (esse) suis, quæ decuerint (provideri) ab imperatore*. § 99, R. iii., Expl. : — *ut prudentes*, “ that they, previously acquainted with the country : ” — *cum imperitis*, “ with those not acquainted with it : ” — *proinde (ut) parati . . . essent*, “ that they should be prepared and on the alert : ” — *confirmaturum (esse)*, “ would crown. ” — 3. *Uti quemque ob*, &c., “ As he had distinguished any one, for some military exploit, with money or promotion : ” — *commonefacere*, &c., “ he reminded him of his kindness, and pointed out that same person to others. ” — 4. *Ignarus hostium*, “ Not aware of the enemy : ” — *conspicitur*. § 140, Obs. 3 : — *primo dubius*, &c., “ at first uncertain what this unusual appearance meant : ” — *et tamen incerti*, “ and yet they were not manifest (so as to show) what it was. ” *Incerti* is here used passively, and the whole = *de quibus incertum erat quidnam esset*. — 5. *Cognitis insidiis*, &c., “ Perceiving the stratagem, he (Metellus) halted his army a little. ” — 6. *Commutatis ordinibus*, “ Having changed the disposition of the ranks ; ” viz., from marching order to the order of battle. On the ridge of a rising ground (*quasi collis*, “ a sort of hill ”) extending across the

plain from the mountain towards the river, was posted the army of Jugurtha concealed imperfectly by the brushwood. Descending from the mountain, on his march eastward to the river, Metellus discovered its position in time to prevent his falling into the snare, and to make preparations. He speedily drew up his men in order of battle, in three lines, as usual, by causing those on the right side next the enemy simply to face to the right, and so form a front line facing the enemy; and the other two lines behind them in the same manner. (See Ch. XXXVIII, 7.) Thus arranged, they were put into a marching column three abreast by simply facing to the left, and thus converting the front line into the right flank (*transversis principiis*) marched down into the plain in front of Jugurtha's army, and ready in an instant, if attacked, to halt, face to the right, and so convert the column again into a triple line facing the enemy. — 7. *Inter manipulos*, "Between the maniples:" — *pro tempore*, "as the time admitted," lit., according to the time.

L.—1. *Ne siti conficeretur exercitus*, "That his army might be distressed with thirst." § 140, Obs. 6: — *uti locum castris antecaperet* (= *qui antecaperet*, § 141, Obs. 2, 4th), "to secure beforehand a place for the camp:" — *transversis præliis*, "by attacks on their right flank," scil., as they marched towards the river: — *lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos*, "would try the effect of the weariness and thirst of the soldiers." The meaning is, that as they (the soldiers of Jugurtha) had no confidence in their arms, they would try by harassing and delaying them on their march, in a sandy plain, where no water could be procured, to effect their destruction from this cause. — 2. *Ipsæ*, "He" (Metellus), the subject of *procedere*, *habere*—historical infinitives: — *post principia*, "behind the van," or first division, and of course towards the centre of the column on the march: — *ipse cum sinistra*, &c., "he himself was with the cavalry of the left wing, which had been made the front division of the marching column," i. e., the van. — *Principia* and *principes* here do not mean the front line of the army drawn up for battle (*acies*), as they often do, but the front division or head of the column on the march (*agmen*), just as *extremum agmen* means "the rear," and *medium agmen*, "the centre:" consequently when the column halted, and faced towards the enemy on the right, the *dextrum laus* became the front line, the *principia*, or first division, became the left wing (*ala sinistra*), and the *extremum agmen*, the right wing (*dextera ala*). — 3. *Extremum agmen*,

&c., "When he sees the rear of the army of Metellus past the first of his own men," i. e., those in the right wing of his army and nearest the mountain: — *quasi duum* (= *duorum*) *millium peditum*, "of about two thousand infantry." § 24, 5. — 4. *Postremos cedere*, "Attacked those in the rear," lit., "struck at:" — *infensi adesse atque instare*, "enraged they came on and pushed against them" (hist. inf.): — *quorum etiam*, &c., "of whom also (scil., the Romans) some who had met their enemies with greater courage, being baffled by this uncertain mode of warfare, were themselves only wounded from a distance," i. e. they and not the Numidians were wounded because—*neque contra feriundi*, &c., "there was not an opportunity of returning the blow, or of engaging in close combat:" — *equites* (scil., *Numidarum*) *non confertim*, &c., "the cavalry—retreated not in a body, nor in one direction:" with *unum*, supply *locum*. — 5. *Numero priores*, "Being superior in numbers:" — *hostes*, scil., *Romanos*: — *sin opportunior*. Arrange, *sin collis fuerat opportunior fuge quam campi (fuerant)*: — *ea (fuga)*, "in that very flight;" *vero* renders *ea* emphatic: — *consueti*, "accustomed to such places:" — *inter virgulta evadere*, "made their escape among the bushes."

LI.—1. *Arma tela, equi viri*, i. e., *Arma et tela, equi et viri*. When words stand in pairs, as here, the conjunction is often omitted. — 2. *Numidas minus instare*, "That the Numidians pushed on less eagerly:" — *conducit*, "draws together." — 3. *Eorum*, "Of them," viz, the enemy's cavalry: — *neu paterentur*, &c., "nor suffer a flying enemy to conquer." — 4. *Neque illis castra esse*, "That they (the Romans) had no camp." § 112, R. ii.: — *cedentes*, "giving way," i. e., "if they should give way." — 5. *Hostibus dubiis instare*, "Pressed hard on their enemies (scil., the Romans) when wavering:" — *quos firmos*, &c., "by fighting at a distance, kept back those (of the Romans) whom they knew to be firm in their resistance."

LII.—1. *Metello*. § 112, R. ii. — 2. *Romani*, scil., the army of Metellus. — 3. *Adverso colle . . . evadunt*, "Push their way up the hill in front," scil., down which the Numidians attacked the Romans; now the Romans drive them back again. — 4. *Hostibus ignara*, "Unknown to their enemies," scil., the Romans. Here again *ignara* is used passively = *ignota*: — *tutata sunt* (neuter). § 98, Obs. 3. — 5. *Quem*, "Who"—subject of *præfectum (esse)*. § 145, Obs. 2: — *supra diximus*. Ch. XLIX.: — *Rutilius*, a *legatus* under Metellus.

Ch. L. : — *deducit, quietus exornat, and remittit*, all belong to *Bo-
milcar* : — *quid ubique hostis ageret* (§ 140, 5), "what the enemy
(scil., the Romans) were doing every where." It will be observed that
by *hostis* Sallust does not always mean those opposed to the Romans,
but those opposed to the party of whom he speaks at the time: hence
it sometimes means the Romans, and sometimes the Numidians : —
et animo vacuum, "and was free from apprehension." — 6. *Veritus
ne legatus*, "Fearing that the lieutenant," scil., Rutilius. § 140, Obs. 6 :
— *suīs*, "to his friends," scil., the Romans under Metellus, now at-
tacked by Jugurtha : — *arte* (for *arete*) *statuerat*, "he had placed in
close order:" — *quo hostium itinēri officeret*, "to obstruct the pas-
sage of the enemy," i. e., of Rutilius, should he return to the assist-
ance of Metellus. This clause depends on *porrigit*, not on *statuerat*
Arrange thus, *quo officeret itinēri hostium, porrigit latius aciem, quam
diffidens virtuti militum, statuerat arte*.

LIII.—1. *Romani*, scil., those under Rutilius. — 2. *Æquabilem
manere*, "To remain steady:" — *cognita re*, "understanding the mat-
ter." § 146, Obs. 9 : — *properantes*, "in haste," "speedily." — 3.
Concurritur, "An onset is made." — 4. *Remorati (sunt)*, "Held
out," "made a stand:" — *fugam faciunt = fugiunt*, "they take to
flight:" — *integri abeunt*, "they get off safe." — 5. *Opere castro-
rum*, "The labor of (fortifying) the camp." Ch. XLV., 3 : — *obviam*,
"to meet him," scil., Metellus. — 6. *Hand procul inter se erant*,
"They were not far from each other," viz., the party of Rutilius, and
that of Metellus : — *alteri . . . facere*, "the one caused." § 144, Obs.
6 : — *et pane imprudentia admissum (esset)*, &c., "and through misap-
prehension a lamentable accident had almost taken place." — 7.
Pro metu, "Instead of fear:" — *milites aliū aliū*. § 98, Exc. 4.
— 8. *Etiā bonos detractant*, "Casts a reproach even upon the brave."

LIV.—1. *Quatriduo*. § 131, R. xli. : — *hortatur*. Arrange, *hor-
tatur gerant* (§ 140, Obs. 5.) *parem animum ad cetera*, &c. : — *ubi
gentium*, "where." *Gentium* added to *ubi* strengthens the idea of un-
certainty : — *ut sese victus gereret*, "how he behaved himself after
his defeat." — 2. *Exploratum*, "To spy out"—supine : — 3. *Coge-
bat*, "Was collecting," "raising:" — *ampliorem*, "superior to" (the
former) : — *hebetem*, "undisciplined:" — *agri ac pecoris*, &c.,
"more fit for cultivating the ground and taking care of cattle than for
war"—*cultor* used for *colens*, as *prædator* for *prædas agens*. Ch. XLIV.,

1. — 4. *Ea gratia* = *ejus (rei) gratia*, "On this account:" — *ex fuga*, "after flight," i. e., "after a defeat:" — *id flagitium militiæ ducitur*. § 114, Obs. 2. — 5. *Videt*, "Saw." § 44, I., 3: — *ferocem*, "unsubdued:" — *renovari*, "was to be renewed:" — *nisi ex illius libidine*, "unless according to his (Jugurtha's) pleasure:" — *minore detrimento illos vinci*, &c., "that they (the Numidians) were defeated with less damage than his men gained a victory." — 6. *Venere munita*, "Slightly fortified," lit., "carelessly," &c. — 7. *Ea formidine*, "Through fear of this:" — *affatim præbita (sunt)*, "were furnished in abundance." — 8. *Quæ negotia*, "These things." § 99, Obs. 8: — *quippe cui*, &c., "for he whose whole hope lay in dodging his enemy:" — *sua loca*, lit., "his own places," i. e., "places of his own choosing," of course, "favorable to himself"—opposed to *alienis (locis)*, "in places selected by another," "unfavorable." — 9. *Ex copia (rerum)*, "In the circumstances:" — *avis*, "out of the public road," i. e., by cross-roads: — *ignoratus*, "unobserved." — 10. *Priusquam ex castris subveniretur*, "Before relief could come from the camp."

LV.—1. *Ut seque . . . gereret*, "How he conducted both himself and his army." This subjunctive clause, and those that follow, depend on *cognitis*; they are in apposition with *rebus*, and explain it: — *potiretur*, "he was getting possession of:" — *magnificum*, "arrogant." — 2. *Supplicia*, "Public thanksgivings:" — *decernere, agere, esse*, historical infinitives having for their subjects respectively, *senatus, civitas, fama*: — *læta (negotia) agere*, "were full of joy." — 3. *Eo intentior . . . niti*, "The more intently he (Metellus) exerted himself." § 98, Obs. 10, and § 132, Obs. 6: — *occubi (= ne alicubi) hosti opportunus fieret*, "that he might not somewhere be exposed to the enemy." — 4. *Quo clarior eo magis anxius* (§ 26, 9.), "The more renowned," &c. § 132, Obs. 6. — 5. *Duobus locis*, &c., "They pitched camps in two places not far apart:" — *quo*, "to the end that:" — *diversi agebant*, "they acted apart," i. e., in different parts of the country. — 6. *Jugurtha*, subject of *sequi, quærere, corrumpere*—hist. inf.: — *hostem*, scil., the Romans—so also below.

LVI.—1. *Urbem magnam*. Arrange, *Urbem magnam et arcem regni*, "A city large and a bulwark of the kingdom." This was a large and strongly fortified place some distance to the southwest of Carthage. There was another place west of Carthage,

where the furious battle was fought between the elder Africanus and Hannibal. Ch. V., 3. — 2. *Que parabantur*, "What things were intended:" — *a perfugis*, "by deserters," from the Roman army. *Perruga* means "a deserter from our enemies to us"—*transfuga*, "a deserter from us to our enemies:" — *Metellum antevenit*, "gets (to Zama) before Metellus:" — *quia fallere nequibat*, "because they could not prove false to him," for if they did, and went back to the Romans, the severest punishment awaited them. The punishment of deserters with the Romans was not regulated by law, but usually left with the commanders, and inflicted in a very severe manner. — 3. *In tempore*, "In due time," "in proper time." — 4. *Fruementum*, "To get provisions." § 148, R. lxiii.: — *quod oppidum*, i. e., *oppidum quod oppidum*, "a town which." § 99, Obs. 1, 2d. — 5. *Uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant*, "To fall upon the cohorts from the rear:" — *postea sese in regno*, scil., *etatem acturum*, "that he (Jugurtha) for the future would spend his days in the enjoyment of his kingdom:" — *illos*, "that they," viz., the people of Sicca. — 6. *Signa inferre*, "To advance the standards," i. e., to march against Jugurtha: — *fidem mutavissent*, "would have changed sides," lit., "their faith." — 7. *Sustentati*, "Encouraged," "upheld:" — *hostes*, scil., the Romans.

LVII.—1. *Infensi intentique*, "Enraged and on the alert." — 2. *Glande aut lapidibus*, "With bullet or with stones"—thrown by slings or engines: — *prælium in manibus facere*, "to fight hand to hand," "to engage in close combat." — 3. *Contra ea*, "On the other hand:" — *pice et sulphure tædam mixtam ardenti*, "torches (i. e., pine torches) covered with burning pitch and sulphur,"—*tædam* is used in a collective sense = *tædas*. — 4. *Sed ne illos quidem*, &c. Arrange, *Sed timor animi ne satis muniverat quidem illos qui procul manserant*,—"Had not sufficiently protected even those," viz., those Roman soldiers mentioned above, who, through fear, chose to fight at a distance: — *emissa*, "thrown," scil., from the town: — *boni atque ignavi*, "the brave and the cowardly."

LVIII.—1. *Remissis, qui in præsidio erant*, "Those who were on guard (scil., in the camp) being remiss"—a figurative use of *remissus*, taken from a bow when unbent. — 2. *Grege facto*, "Having formed themselves into a body:" — *quam alii*, scil., *cepere*, § 120, Obs. 2, 2d: — *remittere* (hist. inf.), "they hurled back:" — *pauci in*

pluribus minus frustrari, "and being few among many (assailants) they were less disappointed," viz., in their aim; i. e., their weapons took effect more certainly from being thrown against many, than if they had been thrown against a few: — *ibi vero . . . ostendere*, "then indeed they showed." — 3. *Ad se verum*, by tmesis for *Adversum se*, "Towards himself:" — *quæ res = quod*. See Cat. Ch. XVIII., 6: — *populares esse*, "that they were his own men," lit., "his countrymen." — 4. *Inultos*, "Unrevenged:" — *alii in angustiis*, &c., "others in their haste obstructed one another in the narrow passages (scil., of the gates)." — 5. *Infecto negotio*, lit., "The business not being finished," viz., the taking of Zama.

LIX.—1. *Qua regis adventus erat*, "Where the approach of the king was (looked for):" — *pro castris agitare*, "to patrol before the camp:" — *loca proxima*, "the places adjoining them." — 2. *In proxima*, "In front," scil., *in loco proximo hostibus*, "in the place nearest to the enemy." — 3. *Ni pedites cum equitibus*, &c., "Had not their infantry, being mingled with the cavalry, caused a great slaughter" (among the Romans). § 45, II., 2. — 4. *Quibus illi freti non . . . sequi*, &c., "Trusting to whom (namely, the infantry) they (the cavalry) did not charge and then retire." The Numidian cavalry usually adopted this mode of action. On this occasion, however, they did not, but — *adversis equis concurrere*, "rushed on with their horses in front of (i. e., head to head with) those of the Romans:" — 5. *Ita expeditis peditibus suis*, &c., "In this manner they (the Numidian cavalry) gave the enemy, almost conquered, into the hands of their infantry being relieved" (scil., by their intermingling with them), i. e., They nearly gained a victory for their infantry, over the Romans. *Hostes* here again refers to the Romans. See Ch. LII., 5, *quid ubique*, &c.

LX.—1. *Eo acerrime niti*, "There they (the Roman soldiers) exerted themselves most actively." *Eo = eo loco*, corresponding to *ubi = quo loco*: — *neque alius*, &c., "nor did one depend on (lit., have hope in) another, more than on himself:" — *pariter*, "in like manner," i. e., with as much energy as the soldiers. — 2. *Oppugnare aut parare (defensionem) omnibus locis*, "They (scil., the townsmen) attacked (the Romans), or prepared to defend themselves every where." Some refer *oppugnare* to the Romans, and *parare* to the Numidians. In that case the meaning is, "The Romans attacked, and the besieged prepared to defend themselves every where:" — *avidius alteri*

alteros sauciare quam semet tegere, "on both sides they were more eagerly to wound each other, than to protect themselves." — 2. *Hostes*, scil., *Romani*: — *paulum modo*, "only a little:" — *intent prospectabant*, "eagerly viewed:" — *ut quæque Jugurthæ res erant*, "according as the affairs of Jugurtha were," scil., prosperous or otherwise: — *animadverteres*, "one might observe them." See Cat. Ch. XXV., 3; *haud facile discerneres*, &c.: — *niti corporibus*, "made gestures with their bodies:" — *et ea* (scil., *corpora*) *huc et illuc . . . agitare*, "and moved them this way and that way." — 4. *Quod ubi*, "When this." § 99, Obs. 8: — *consulto*, "intentionally:" — *lenius*, "with less vigor:" — *sine tumultu . . . visere*, "to view without disturbance." — 5. *Illis studio suorum adstrictis*, "When they were entirely taken up with zeal for their friends:" — *scalis egressi*, &c., "mounting up from the scaling-ladders, had almost reached the top" (lit., the highest places) of the wall. — 6. *Unce* (§ 24, Obs. 3.) *atque alteræ scalæ comminute (sunt)*, "One or two ladders were broken in pieces"—*scalæ*, a plural noun very seldom used in the singular: — (ii) *qui supersteterant, afflicti sunt*, "those who had stood upon them were dashed to the ground."

LXI.—1. *Neque . . . pugnam facere*, "Did not give battle:" — *ceterum exercition*, "the other part of the army:" — *in provinciam*, &c., "into that part of the (Roman) province." — 2. *Et inde vadibus datis*, &c., "And had secretly fled from thence from his trial for the murder of Massiva, after bail had been given." Ch. XXXV.: — *per maximam amicitiam*, "by means of his very great intimacy" (with Jugurtha). — 3. *Ad se . . . occultus veniat*, "That he (Bomilear) should come secretly to him:" — *fide data*, "giving his word of honor," lit., "his honor being pledged:" — *fore, ut illi senatus . . . concederet*. § 145, Obs. 6. — *quum ingenio infido* (§ 106, R. vii.) *tum metuenti*, "being not only of a treacherous disposition, but also fearing:" — *ne*, "that." § 140, Obs. 6.

LXII.—1. *Is*, "He," scil., Bomilear: — *Jugurtham . . . accedit*. § 136, R. lii.: — *ne illo cunctante*, "lest if he still hesitated," lit., "he delaying;" i. e., while he delayed. — 2. *Ad imperatorem*, i. e., *ad Metellum*: — *qui dicerent*, "to say." § 141, Obs. 2, 4th: — *sine ulla pactione*, "without any stipulation:" — *in illius fidem*, "to his honor." — 3. *More majorum*, "After the manner of their ancestors." According to the custom of the Romans,

terms of peace or capitulation could not be made by a general without the consent of a council of war. This council usually consisted of the legates, quæstors, tribunes of the soldiers, præfects of the allies, and sometimes the chief centurions. Ch. XXXVIII., 7. — 4. *Jugurthæ imperat*, "He demands of Jugurtha." § 123, R. xxix., Expl.: — *argenti pondo ducenta millia*, lit., "two hundred thousand pound weight of silver." The full expression is *ducenta millia librarum pondo*. *Pondo*, "in weight," is used only in the ablative singular. — 5. *Omnes perfugas*, "All his deserters," i. e., those who had deserted to him from the Romans. See Ch. LVI., 2: — *pars.... adducti (sunt)*. § 98, Exc. 2. — 6. *Quum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium* (§ 130, 2.) *vocaretur*, "When he himself was summoned to Tisidium to receive orders." § 147, Obs. 6. — 7. *Digna timere*, "To dread deserved punishment," lit., "what was due to him." — 8. *Modo—interdum = modo—modo*, "Sometimes—sometimes." — 9. *Quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret*, "How grievous the fall would be from a kingdom into slavery." — 10. *Numidiam Metello decreverat*, "Had decreed Numidia to Metellus," scil., as his province. This was in the beginning of the year B. C. 108. The consulship of Metellus had expired, and his successors Servius Sulpicius Galba, and Q. Hortensius had entered on their office. Metellus, however, was continued in command as proconsul, and by a decree of the senate, Numidia was assigned to him as his province.

LXIII.—1. *Caio Mario*. Dative, § 126, R. iii. See Ch. XLVI., 7: — *dis supplicanti*, "making supplication to the gods." § 112, R. iv.: — *proinde, quæ animo agitabat*, &c., "therefore whatever things he was projecting in his mind, trusting in the gods (§ 119, R. xxiii.) he might do." The indicative *agitabat* shows that this is not the language of the *haruspex*, but of Sallust. See § 141, Obs. 5, 1st. — 2. *Præter vetustatem familiæ*, "Except the antiquity of his family." Marius was a Roman eques of the municipium of Arpinum: — *animus belli ingens, domi modicus*, "a spirit mighty in war, moderate in peace." § 130, Obs. 7: — *libidinis et divitiarum victor*, "superior to pleasure and riches." — 3. *Omnem pueritiam*; acc. of time how long: — *Arpini altus*, "brought up at Arpinum;" *altus* is a contraction for *alitus*, from *alo*: — *stipendiis faciundis*, "in actual service," lit., "in making campaigns:" — *inter bonas artes*, "among laudable employments." — 4. *Facile notus*, &c., "Being well known (by name and reputation), he is declared elected by all the tribes." The

tribes were now 35 in number. — 5. *In potestatibus*, "In his offices:" — *eo modo . . . ut*, "in such a manner that." § 31, Obs. 2 (2): — *ampliore (magistratu)*, "of a higher office." § 119, R. xxiii. — 6. *Ad id locorum*. § 106, R. viii., "Up to that time"—*locorum* being used here for *temporum*, as afterwards, Ch. LXXII. — 7. *Alios magistratus plebes*, scil., *gerebat*: — *consulatum nobilitas*, &c., "the consulship the nobility handed round among themselves." — 8. *Novus nemo*, "No one not of noble birth." Ch. IV., 8: — *tam egregiis factis*. § 106, R. vii.: — *illo honore*, "of that honor," scil., the consulship: — *et quasi pollutus*, "and as it were a disgrace to the office," lit., "a polluted thing."

LXIV.—1. *Petundi* (scil., *consulatum*) *gratia*, "For the purpose of presenting himself as a candidate (for the consulship)." A person could not be a candidate regularly for the consulship without being present; hence—*missionem rogat*, "he asks leave of absence." — 2. *Contemptor animus*, "A disdainful spirit:" — *commune malum*, "a common vice," in apposition with *superbia*. — 3. *Commotus* (i. e., Metellus), "Being surprised:" — *tam prava (negotia)*, "so improper a course:" — *jure*, "justly," "with good reason;" referring probably to his low birth. — 4. *Per negotia publica*, "On account of the public service:" — *quæ peteret*, namely, leave of absence. — 5. *Cum filio suo*, "With his (Metellus's) son." — 6. *Contubernio patris . . . militabat*, "Was serving in the tent of his father." *Contubernium* properly means a number of soldiers quartered in the same tent, hence called, in relation to each other, *contubernales*. Young noblemen often went out with a general, in this way to learn the art of war, and, to be under his inspection, lodged in the same tent. This was the position of the son of Metellus, who, as here mentioned, was about twenty years old. This proposal of Metellus to Marius, then, must have been made in derision of his pretensions; for, as one could not be a candidate for the consulship till he was forty-three years of age, and Marius was of that age then, it was telling him to wait twenty-three years longer, i. e., till he was sixty-six. Besides it was contemptuously putting him on a par with a youth of twenty years. The wisdom of Metellus in provoking the resentment of such a man as Marius may well be questioned: — *quam pro honore*, "not only in regard to the honor." — 7. *Grassari*, "Did he push on:" — *quod modo ambitiosum foret*, "provided only it was popular," lit., "which only," &c.: — *laxiore imperio*, "under laxer discipline:" — *dimi-*

dia pars, "the half:" — *consulto trahi*, supply *bellum*, "that the war was protracted on purpose:" — *homo inanis et regie superbie*, "being a man vain and of regal pride," "as proud as a king." — 8. *Firmiora*, "More plausible:" — *eo, quod*, "because:" — *corruperant*, "they had impaired," "wasted:" — *animo cupienti*, "to an impatient mind."

LXV.—1. *Secundum heredem*, "His next heir." Among the Romans *secundus heres* is the one appointed to succeed to the inheritance in case the real heir either does not accept, or dies under age, or without issue — *morbis confectus*, "weakened with diseases." — 2. *Cui*, "To him," scil., Gauda. This dative depends on *negaverat*: — *uti sellam juxta (sellam Metelli) poneret*, "that he might place his seat next to that of Metellus." When the general presided in a council of war, or in judgment, or on other special occasions, he occupied the curule chair; and if a king was present, he was usually invited to a seat next to the general on his right hand. This distinction Gauda sought: — *custodiæ causa*, "for his protection,"—fearing probably he might be assassinated, as Massiva was at Rome: — *turram* governed by *petenti* above, on which also depends the clause, *uti sellam juxta poneret*: — *honorem quod eorum* (§ 108, R. xii.) *modo foret*, "(he refused) the honor because it belonged only to those:" — *præsidium*, "(he refused) the guard:" — *in eos*, referring to the Roman cavalry. — 3. *Anxium*, "Vexed" at the refusal: — *uti contumeliarum*, &c., "that with his assistance he should seek revenge for the insults offered to him:" — *secunda oratione*, "in a flattering speech." Before *illum regem*, &c., supply *dixit*, or *dicens*: — *id adeo mature posse evenire*, "that that might happen even very soon:" — *ipse consul*, "he (Marius) as consul." — 4. *Itaque et illum*, &c. Arrange, *Itaque ipse impellit et illum*, &c.,—*spes pacis impellit plerosque*: — *suos necessarios*, "their intimate friends:" — *aspere*, "harshly." — 5. *Illi*, "For him" (Marius): — *honestissima suffragatione*, "by a very respectable interest," "support:" — *nobilitate fusa*, &c., "the nobility being baffled by the Mamilian law"—a law passed by the people, instituting a criminal investigation into the acts of those by whose connivance Jugurtha evaded the law, and who received bribes from him, which greatly terrified the nobility. See Ch. XL: — *novos extollebat*, "were for raising to high honors men of low rank." § 44, II., 2.

LXVI.—1. *Jugurtha*, subject of *parare*, &c., hist. inf.: — *postquam incipit*, "as soon as he begins:" — *omissa deditioe*, "the idea

of surrender having been given up:" — *affectare*, "tried to gain over:" — *suos locos*, see *sua loca*. Ch. LIV., 8: — **2.** *Quo*, "Where," instead of *quibus*, "over whom:" — *pacificante*, "suing for peace:" — *supplicis*, "with entreaties:" — *neque antea voluntate alienati*, "and not being before alienated in their affection:" — *principes*, in apposition with *Ulagenses*, and explaining it. — **3.** *Ingenio mobili*. § 106, R. vii.: — *quieti*. § 111, Obs. 1, 3d. — **4.** *In diem tertium constituunt*, "They fix upon the third day," viz., for carrying their plans into effect: — *quod is festus*, "because that being a holiday:" — *ludum et lasciviam . . . ostentabat* (§ 44, II., 1.), "was accustomed to present an appearance of sport and merriment." — **5.** *Alius alium*, "Some one, and some another." § 98, Obs. 11, and Exc. 4. Here *alius* distributes *principes* understood, and *alium* distributes *centuriones*, *tribunos*, &c. — **6.** *Plebes*. This word has different forms—*plebes-ci* is of the fifth declension, and is commonly used by Sallust;—*plebs* and *plebis*, of the third declension, are more common with other writers: — *quippe in tali die*, &c., "seeing it was on such a day, and they were under no command." — **7.** *Pars*—*alii*, as frequently before—*pars edocti*. § 98, Exc. 2: — *quis* (for *quibus*), dative, depending on *placebant*.

LXVII.—1. *Quid potissimum facerent*, "What they had best do:" — *trepidare*, "ran up and down in great confusion:" — *ad arcem*, &c., "a guard of the enemy (the Numidians) was posted at the citadel of the town:" — *pro tectis*, "on the edge of the roofs," i. e., at the eaves. — **2.** *Anceps malum*, "The double attack," viz., that from the roofs, and that from the people below: — *neque a fortissimis*, &c., "nor could effectual resistance be made to the weakest class even by the most valiant." — **3.** *Savissimis Numidis*. § 146, Obs. 10: — *nisi . . . improbus instabilisque videtur*, "save only (this I have found) he is esteemed worthless and infamous;" *quia*, &c., *instabilis* means one not admitted, on account of infamy, to give evidence in a court of justice: — *integra fama*. § 120, R. xxiv.

LXVIII.—1. *Numidas equites . . . expeditos*, "Light-armed Numidian cavalry:" — *cum occasu*, "at the setting:" — *circiter horam tertiam*, "about the third hour," i. e., our nine o'clock, A. M. See Gram. App., p. 307. — **2.** *Abnuentes omnia*, "Averse to every thing," i. e., to all further exertion at that time: — *mille passuum*, lit., "a thousand paces," i. e., a mile. § 24, 5, and App. vi., 5, p. 312. The

Roman *passus* was two steps—the distance the foot reaches from the point where it is raised in walking, to the point where it is set down. The Roman mile was 1618 yards lacking three inches, or about 142 yards less than the English mile: — *dum.... pœnas caperent*, “until they should take satisfaction,” “infiict punishment upon.” — 3. *In primo late (ire)*, “To march in front with an extended line” (lit., “widely”), *scil.*, so as to conceal the infantry behind them: — *artissime*, i. e., *arctissime*.

LXIX.—1. *Animum advertere*, same as *animadvertere*: — *ad se versum*, as before by tmesis for *adversum se*, “towards themselves:” — *obvii procedunt*, “go forth to meet him.” — 2. *Alii—alii—pars*, as before, distributing *equites*, *peditesque*. — 3. *Lietati (sunt)*: — *cuncta pœne aut prædæ fuit*, “was wholly given up to the sword (lit., punishment), or to plunder.” *Pœne fuit* is unusual, and admissible here only because connected with *prædæ*, which is common. — 4. *Quem*, “Who,” subject of *profugisse*: — *dicere causam*, “to plead his cause;” to account for his conduct, or to defend himself from the accusation brought against him: — *sese parum expurgat*, “he does not clear himself:” — *capite pœnas solvit*. Plutarch says, that this result was chiefly the work of Marius, and much against the will of Metellus, who had a great regard for Turpilius. Marius urged and carried this, not from opposition to Turpilius, or zeal for the Roman discipline, but to vex Metellus. It was unlawful to scourge or put to death a Roman citizen without the order of the people. Sallust accounts for the proceedings in the present case thus, *Nam is civis ex Latio erat*, and it would appear from this, that these had not the full right of Roman citizens.

LXX.—1. *Ad perniciem ejus*, “For his (Jugurtha’s) destruction:” — *omnia tentando*, lit., “while trying every thing,” i. e., resorting to every expedient: — *omnes res exsequi*, &c., “took charge of all things which were too much for Jugurtha (were more than he could attend to), fatigued or taken up with greater matters:” — *jussus*, “as he had been ordered” (*scil.*, by Jugurtha): — *inultis*, “with impunity.” — 2. *Is postquam*, “When he” (Nabdalsa): — *timore socii anxius*, “vexed with the timorousness of his accomplice:” — *ne omisso*, &c., “lest, giving up their former design, he should contrive some new one:” — 3. *In quis* = *et in his*. § 99, Obs. 8. — *in pestem*, “to his own destruction,” i. e., instead of the rewards he might

expect from Metellus, if the plan agreed upon should succeed, he would by delay be exposed to detection, and consequently to punishment from Jugurtha. — 4. *Ceterum*, &c. Arrange, *Ceterum id modo agitari, ne periret sua (virtute) an virtute Metelli*, "But that this was the only question, whether he (Jugurtha) should perish by his (Nabdalsa's) bravery," &c. Before *præmia* supply *num*.

LXXI.—1. *Exercito corpore fessus*, "Being fatigued with bodily exercise:" — *cognitis Bomilcaris verbis*, "having read Bomilcar's letter." Cat., Ch. XXXIV., 4: — *uti ægrum animum solet*, "as usually happens to a mind ill at ease," lit., "as it is accustomed to seize a mind," &c.; with *animum* supply *capere*. — 2. *Negotiorum curator*, "The manager of his affairs:" — *nisi novissimi*, "except of the last," viz., the plot against Jugurtha. — 3. *Qui postquam*, "When he:" — *allatas (esse) litteras*, "that a letter had been brought:" — *opera aut ingenio*, "of his assistance or advice." § 118, R. xxii.: — *temere*, "carelessly." — 4. *Indicem persequi*, "To overtake the informer:" — *que ipse paravisset facere . . . præventa (esse)*, "that what he himself intended to do had been anticipated." He pretends to Jugurtha, that he intended himself to discover the designs of Bomilcar, to which Bomilcar's letter, reproving his remissness, would give plausibility: — *super (= de) tali scelere*, "of such villany."

LXXII.—1. *Aliter atque*, "Otherwise than." § 149, Obs. 6: — *iram oppresserat*, "he suppressed his resentment." — 2. *Post id locorum*, "After that time." Ch. LXIII., 6: — *ulla* belongs to *dies*, as well as to *nox* in the subject, and *quieta* in the predicate; § 98, Obs. 4; so also *cuiquam* qualifies *loco* and *tempori*, as well as *mortali*: — *circumspectare omnia*, "he was always looking anxiously at every thing around him." Note the effect of the frequentative. — 3. *Alio atque alio loco*, "Sometimes in one place and sometimes in another:" — *contra decus regium*, "in a manner inconsistent with the dignity of a king:" — *ita . . . exagitari*, "thus was he distracted," &c.,—a most graphic description of a man who, conscious of his guilt, could trust no one, and apprehended danger from every person, and in every situation.

LXXIII.—1. *Et (de) indicio patefacto*, "And concerning the discovery being made"—a pleonasm for *indicio facto*. The same may be

expressed by *dolo patefacto*. — 2. *Simul et invitum et offensum sibi*, "At the same time being unwilling (to remain), and offended at him." — 3. *Litteris . . . cognitis*, "Having read the letters." From what is said Ch. LXV. ad fin., it is probable many letters were sent: — *volenti animo* (abl.) *de ambobus*, "with ready mind (i. e., willingly) concerning both." — 4. *Imperatori, &c.* Arrange, *Nobilitas quæ antea (fuerat) decori, esse invidiæ imperatori* (scil., *Metello*). § 114, R. xix.: — *illi alteri*, "to the other," scil., *Marius*. *Illi* is here emphatic like the Greek article: — *in utroque magis studia partium, &c.*, "party-zeal ruled in both, more than their own good or evil qualities." — 5. *Metellum . . . capitis arcessere*, "They charged Metellus with capital crimes," Ch. XXXII., 1—*quos pecunie*: — *in majus celebrare*, "they greatly magnified," "they extolled extravagantly." — 6. *Res fidesque in manibus sitæ erant*, "Property and credit depended on their manual labor:" — *frequentarent Marium*, "crowded around Marius:" — *et sua necessaria, &c.*, "and regarded their own necessary affairs as less important (lit., behind, inferior to) his advancement (to the consulship)." — 7. *Post multas tempestates*, "After a long series of years:" — *novo homini*. Ch. IV., 8: — *cum Jugurtha*, "against Jugurtha:" — *frequens*, "in full assembly;"—agreeing with *populus*. — 8. *Decreverat*, scil., *bellum cum Jugurtha*: — *ea res* (i. e., the decree of the senate). It appears from this, that though it belonged to the senate to assign the provinces to individuals, and they had assigned the province of Numidia to Metellus, the sovereign people reversed the decision. This, though contrary to law and usage, was sometimes done.

LXXIV.—1. *Ad regem Bocchum*. Bocchus was king of Mauritania, which lay west of Numidia and extended as far as the ocean opposite Spain. It comprised the modern kingdom of Fez and Morocco. — 2. *Varius incertusque (sese) agitabat*, "He conducted himself in a wavering and uncertain manner," i. e., he formed a great variety of schemes, and knew not which to adopt. — 3. *Neque illi res, &c.*, "Neither any measure, nor any advice, &c., fully pleased him:" — *dubitare, &c.*, "he was in doubt whether he could trust less the bravery or the fidelity of his subjects." — 4. *Qua in parte*, "In whatever part," i. e., *in parte in qua parte*. § 99, Obs. 1: — *pugnae adfuit*. § 112, R. i. — 5. *Aliquanto numero*. *Aliquantus*, as an adjective, is rarely used. Here *potiti* has a double construction, being followed by an ablative in one clause, and a genitive in the next. § 121, R. xxvi., and Exc. 2: — *nam ferme Numidas, &c.*, "for almost in all battles,

their feet (i. e., their running away) rather than their arms protected the Numidians:" — *tuta sunt*, for *tuita sunt*, from *tueor*.

LXXV.—1. *Inpensius modo . . . diffidens*, "Still more strongly (i. e., more than ever) distrusting:" — *jiliorumque ejus multus*, &c., "and a great deal of furniture for the use of his children in their youth." *Cultus* here means every thing provided for the education or amusement of his children. For *erat* after *thesauri*, *cultus*, see § 102, Obs. 1. — **2.** *Metello*. § 126, R. xxxiii. : — *flumenque proximum*, "and the river nearest to it:" — *patrandi belli*, "of bringing the war to a close." — **3.** *Sarcinis levare*, "To be relieved of their loads:" — *nisi frumento*, "except of corn." § 126, R. v. : — *ceterum utres modo et alia aquæ idonea portare*, "but that leathern bottles and other vessels fit for water should be carried" (by them). — **4.** *Domiti pecoris*, "Of working cattle," cattle subjected to the yoke. § 106, R. viii. : — *eoque*, "and upon them." *Eo* refers to *pecori* used collectively. — **5.** *Quam plurimum quisque aquæ portaret*, "That each should bring as much water as he could"—*quisque* distributes *finitimis*. § 98, Exe. 4 : — *ubi præsto forent*, "where they should be in readiness." — **6.** *Quam* (§ 99, Obs. 4.) *proximam oppido*, &c., "Which we said above was the water nearest to the town." — **7.** *Ad id loci* (§ 106, R. viii.) = *ad eum locum* : — *quo Numidis præceperat*, "to which (lit., "whither") he had commanded the Numidians" (to bring the water, Note 5.): — *ea modo*, "that only," i. e., "that alone." — **8.** *In nova deditione officia intenderant*, "In a recent surrender, had exceeded their duty," i. e., had done more than was required. — **9.** *Religione*, "From a religious feeling:" — *pluvia*, scil., *aqua* : — *animis eorum*, "to their courage."

LXXVI.—1. *Nihil jam infectum Metello*, "That for Metellus nothing was now impracticable." *Infectus*, like *invictus*, has sometimes the sense of the verbal adjective in *bilis* : — *ceteris imperitantiem*, "that rules over other men:" — *industria*, "by persevering efforts:" — *proditionem*, "treason," "being betrayed:" — *per otium*, &c., "in a time of leisure, and according to opportunity." — **2.** *Et operibus et loco*, "Both by art and situation." — **3.** *Ex copia*, "According to circumstances," lit., "out of the abundance of places;" here referring to the different nature of the ground or fortifications: — *vineas, aggerem turribus*, see Ch. XXI, 5, and XXXVII., 4 : — *et super*. Arrange, *et tutari opus et administros turribus impositis super aggerem*. — **4.** *Prorsus*, "In short:" — *reliquum fieri*, "was

omitted : " — *post dies quadraginta quam*, &c. § 131, Obs. 2 : — *oppido modo potiti*, "got possession of the town only," i. e., and nothing more : — *corrupta (erat)*, "had been destroyed." — 5. *Arietibus feriri*, "Were assailed with the battering rams." The battering ram was a long beam like the mast of a ship, and armed at one end with iron in the form of a ram's head, from which it takes its name. It was suspended by the middle with ropes or chains fastened to a cross-beam resting on two upright posts : hanging thus equally balanced, it was worked by a number of men (from 50 to 100), who, pulling it back, then thrust it forward with great violence ; and thus by repeated blows soon shook down the strongest walls. It was usually covered over with a *vineæ* or mantlet, under which the men, while they worked the aries, were protected from the missiles thrown from the walls. The following wood-cut will enable the student to form some idea of this engine of war. — 6. *Afflictas (esse)*, "Were ruined," lit., "dashed

ARIES.



to the ground:" — *onerati*, "having glutted themselves:" — *corrumpunt*, "destroy." Here is a sort of zeugma, *corrumpunt* being applicable to *illa* and *domum*, but not to *semet*, before which *interficiunt* would be the proper word. § 150, 1, 2d: — *eas ipsi volentes pependere quas*, "they voluntarily inflicted on themselves those punishments which," &c. They knew well, that if they fell into the hands of the Romans, from whom they had deserted, they would be punished with the greatest severity. See Ch. LVI., 2, *quia fallere*, &c.

LXXVII.—1. *Cum capta Thala*, "With the taking of Thala." § 146, Obs. 2: — *eo*, "thither," "to that town:" — *ni id festinaret*, "unless he hastened to do this," *seil.*, to send them aid. — 2. *Suam salutem*, "That their safety," i. e., the safety of the people of Leptis: — *socios illorum* = *socios Romanorum*. The whole may be given thus, "that the safety of the inhabitants, the allies of the Romans, would be in the greatest danger:" — *nave*, "actively," same as *naviter*; also *gnave* and *gnaviter*, from *navus*, i. q., *gnavus*.

LXXVIII.—1. *Quos*, "Who," subject of *venisse*: — *profugos*, "leaving their country:" — *situm (est) inter duas Syrtes*. Ch. XIX. The Syrtes were two bays or gulfs on the coast of Africa, one of which was Syrtis Major and the other Syrtis Minor. This town of Leptis was situate towards the greater Syrtis, at the south-east extremity of the district of Tripolis. It was founded by the Phœnicians, and, as a maritime city, ranked next to Carthage and Utica. It was called Leptis Magna, to distinguish it from another city called Leptis Parva, situate in Africa Propria. — 2. *Quibus nomen ex re inditum*, "To which (Syrtes) the name was given in consequence of their nature." Some derive *Syrtes* from the Greek *σῦρω*, "to drag," in allusion to the moving or dragging of the sands by the waves, when agitated by strong winds. This is the opinion of Sallust, as appears from what follows: others derive the name from *Sert*, an Arabic word which signifies "a desert," such being the nature of the country around them. — 3. *Quorum (loca) proxima terra*, "Of which the places nearest the land:" — *alta*, i. e., *in alia tempestate alta*, "sometimes deep:" — *magnum (esse)*, "to run (be) high." — 4. *Lingua modo*, "The language only:" — *connubio Numidarum*, "by intermarriage with the Numidians."

LXXIX.—1. *Sed quoniam*. This chapter is a digression: — *eam rem nos locus admonuit*, "Of this thing the place has reminded me."

Admonere is usually followed by the genitive of the thing, § 122, R. xxvii.; here it is followed by the accusative. § 124. — 2. *Africæ imperitabant*, "Ruled over Africa." § 112, R. v., 3. — 3. *Una specie*, "Of a uniform appearance:" — *inter se*, "with each other." § 28, Obs. 5. — 4. *Per inducias sponsionem faciunt*, "During a truce they make an agreement:" — *domo profiscerentur*. *Domo* here probably does not mean Carthage and Cyrene, but Leptis Magna on the Carthaginian side, and Hesperis on the Cyrenian; these cities being on the borders of the disputed territory, and they might be called *domus*, because they were within their respective countries: — *inter se obviuissent*, "they should meet each other." — 5. *Quibus nomen Philænis erat*. § 97, Exc. 2: — *iter pergere*, "to perform their journey." — 6. *Solet in illis locis*, &c., "In these places a storm is accustomed to detain (travellers), just as it does at sea." — 7. *Nuda gignentium*, "Destitute of vegetation:" — *morari*, "to delay"—governed by *solet* repeated. — 8. *Aliquanto*. § 132, Obs. 6: — *ob rem corruptam*, "for mismanaging the affair." § 146, Obs. 2: — *criminari Carthaginienses*, &c., "charged that the Carthaginians had set out (or, "accused the Carthaginians of having set out") from home before the (appointed) time:" — *conturbare rem*, "threw the affair into confusion," by maintaining that the agreement was violated. — 9. *Græci*; the Cyrenians were a Grecian colony: — *optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt*, "give the Carthaginians the choice"—put it to the choice of the Carthaginians: — *ut vel illi*, "that either they" (the Carthaginians): — *quos fines*; *quos* finds its antecedent in *ibi* = *in illis finibus*. § 99, Obs. 2: — *eadem conditione*, "on the same condition," viz., of being buried alive: — *sese*, "that they" (the Grecians): — *quem in locum*. § 99, Obs. 1, 2d. — 10. *Conditione probata*, "Accepting the condition." — 11. *Aras consecraverere*. These altars were called Philænon Aræ.

LXXX.—1. *Ad Gætulos*, "To the Gætuli." The inhabitants of Gætulia, a country in Africa south of Numidia. The Gætulians, like the Numidians, excelled in horsemanship, and, like them, rode without saddles. — 2. *In unum* (scil., *locum*) *cogit*, "He collects together:" — *ordines habere*, "to keep their ranks:" — *imperium observare*, "to obey orders." — 3. *Proximos*, "The intimate friends," "associates:" — *ad studium sui*, "to his interest," lit., "to zeal for him:" — *quîs*, for *quibus*. — 4. *Facilius proniusque*, "More easy, and more in accordance with his inclination:" — *quam rem* = *quod*,

Cat., Ch. XVIII., 6: — *opportunissimam*, "highly favorable," scil., to the Romans: — *cæci avaritia*, "blinded by avarice." Though this offer of Bocchus was important to the Romans in the present state of their affairs in Africa; yet, because he did not buy the support of these leading men with large sums of money, they opposed and defeated it. — 5. *Jugurtha* (dat.) *nupserrat*, "Had married Jugurtha." *Nubo*, "to marry," strictly, "to veil," is used only of the woman, because in the marriage ceremony the bride is covered with the bridal veil. Cat., Ch. XV., 2. — 6. *Ea necessitudo*, "This connection:" — *lenis ducitur*, "is lightly esteemed:" — *quia singuli*, &c., "because individuals, according to their wealth, have each a great many wives:" — *denas*, "ten apiece." § 24, 11: — *eo amplius*, "so much the more;" because supposed to be richer than others. § 132, R. xliii., Obs. 6. — 7. *Animus distrahitur*, "The affections are divided," (of course weakened): — *nulla pro socia obtinet*, "no one occupies (her place) as a partner."

LXXXI.—1. *Ambobus placitum*, "Agreed upon by both," lit., "agreeable to both." Before *Romanos*, supply *dicens* or *dixit*: — *profunda avaritia*. § 106, R. vii. — 2. *Illos*, "That they," scil., the Romans, subject of *habere*: — *libidinem imperitandi*, in apposition with, and explaining *causam*: — *quīs* (for *quibus*) referring to *illos*, i. e., *Romanos*. — 3. *Tum sese*, supply *hostem Romanis esse*; so with *Carthaginienses* and *Persen* supply *hostes*, and *hostem Romanis fuisse* respectively. "To be an enemy," here means, "to be treated as an enemy by the Romans:" — *post*, "in future." — 4. *Iter constituunt*, "They resolve on marching." — 5. *Capta urbe* (§ 146, Obs. 9.), &c., "Should they take the city, that there would be a reward for their labor," "it would be worth their labor." — 6. *Callidus*. § 98, Obs. 10: — *id modo*, "this only," viz., *Bocchi pacem imminuere*, "to lessen Bocchus's chance of peace" (with the Romans).

LXXXII.—1. *Victo Jugurtha*, "After Jugurtha had been defeated:" — *hanc procul ab Cirta*, &c., "having fortified his camp not far from Cirta:" — *cognitis Mauris*, "after having made himself acquainted with the Moors:" — *ex commodo*, lit., "according to advantage," i. e., "if a favorable opportunity should occur." — 2. *Supra bonum atque honestum*, "Beyond what was right and becoming:" — *in aliis artibus*, "in other qualities:" — *nimis molliter*, &c., "he bore trouble of mind with too little firmness," lit., "too

sensitively." — 3. *Vertebant*, "Ascribed:" — *alii* (*dicebant*), "others said:" — *multi* (*dicebant ingenium accensum esse*) *quod*, &c., "many (asserted that his mind was exasperated) because," &c. — 4. *Injuria sua*, "By the injustice done to him:" — *alii quam Mario*, "to another than to Marius."

LXXXIII.—1. *Stultitiæ (esse) videbatur*, "It seemed to him to be the part of folly." § 108, R. xii., Expl.: — *alicnam rem*, "the interests of another" (meaning Marius): — *habere tum magnam copiam*, "that he (Bocchus) now had a fine opportunity." — 2. *Incipere*, &c. Arrange, *Licere cuivis, etiam ignavo, incipere*, (scil., *bellum*,) *bellum deponi*, &c.: — *perditis (rebus)*, "the ruined fortunes." — 3. *Si eadem illi copia fieret*, &c., "If the same advantage were offered to him (Jugurtha), that all things would be agreed to." — 4. *Contra*, "In reply to:" — *partim = alia*. — 5. *Tempus procedere*, "Time passed on:" — *bellum intactum trahi*, "the war was protracted without any thing being done."

LXXXIV.—1. *Tum vero multus atque ferox* (§ 98, Obs. 10.) *instare*, "Then indeed he frequently and violently assailed them:" — *ledere*, "he lashed," "inveighed against:" — *ex victis illis spolia*, "as spoils from those vanquished:" — *magnifica pro se*, &c., "ostentatious as regards himself, and galling to them." — 2. *Opus*, adj. § 118, Obs. 1. — 3. *A populis*, &c., "From states and kings and allies:" — *plerosque*, &c., "most of them known to him in actual service (*militiæ*), a few by reputation:" — *ambiuado cogere homines emeritis stipendiis* (§ 106, R. vii.), &c., "by flattering solicitations, he prevailed on men who had completed their time of military service." Such soldiers were called *emeriti*. — 4. *Etiam lætus*, "Even cheerfully." § 98, Obs. 10. — 5. *Quia neque plebi militia volenti (esse) putabatur*, "Because (on the one hand) the service was thought to be disagreeable to the commons." This is an imitation of a Greek construction, by which adjectives and participles signifying willingness or unwillingness are put with the substantive in the dative as the object after *est* (§ 112, R. ii.), instead of in the predicate agreeing with its subject. See another example, Ch. C., *uti militibus labos volentibus esset*. Also Tac. Agr. 18., *quibus bellum volentibus erat*, "who wished for war," or, "to whom war was agreeable." Gr. Gr. § 148, Obs. 3: — *et Marius (putabatur)*, &c., "and (on the other) Marius, it was thought, would lose either the advantage of the war,

or the affections of the commons." — 6. *Sese quisque*, &c. Arrange, *Trahebant animis, quisque sese fore locupletem praeda*, "They fancied in their minds, each that he," &c., *quisque* distributes the subject of *trahebant*. § 98, Exe. 4. *Trahere animo* = *ingere animo*, "to imagine," "to fancy in the mind." — 7. *Omnibus . . . decretis*, "All things—being granted (decreed)," scil., by the senate.

LXXXV.—1. *Et . . . gerere*, scil., *imperium*, "And to exercise power." — 2. *Mihi contra ea videtur*. Resolve thus, *id, quod est contra ea, mihi videtur*. "To me, just the reverse of these things seems to be proper:" — *nam*; here supply again *mihi videtur*, to govern the infinitive clause *illam debere administrari*: — *quo*, "in proportion as:" — *pluris est*, "is of more value:" — *eo majore cura*, "with so much greater care:" — *illum*, referring to *universam rem publicam*; — *hæc*, referring to *consulatus, prætura*, is neuter plural. § 98, Obs. 3. — 3. *Neque me fallit*, "Nor does it escape my notice," i. e., "nor am I insensible." — 4. *Nolis offendere*, "You are unwilling to disoblige:" — *opinio . . . asperius est*, "is more difficult than is commonly supposed." Here *est* has for its subject the whole preceding part of the sentence as one whole. — 5. *Præsidio adsunt*, scil., *illis*, "Afford them protection." — 6. *Rei publicæ procedunt*, "Benefit the state:" — *locum invadendi*, "an opportunity of attacking me." — 7. *Vos capiamini*, "You may be ensnared:" — *fui*, "I have lived," lit., "been:" — *consuetæ*, "familiar to me." — 8. *Ante vestra beneficia*, "Before your favors" (were bestowed on me): — *gratuito*, "with no view to reward." — 9. *Temperare*, "To behave with moderation:" — *bene facere . . . vertit (se)*, "doing good (lit., "to do well") has now from habit become changed (lit., "has changed itself") into nature." — 10. *Num id mutari melius sit*, "Whether that (viz. his appointment to conduct the war against Jugurtha) might not better be changed:" — *veteris prosapiæ*, "of ancient lineage:" — *multarum imaginum*. See Ch. IV., 5, ad fin. — *nullius stipendii*, "of no experience in warfare." — 11. *Præposterii homines*, "Preposterous men:"—a phrase here used in its strictly literal sense—men who do first, what they should do afterwards; i. e., who get office first and then seek preparation for it: — *nam gerere*, &c. Arrange and supply, *nam gerere (consulatum)*, *tempore est posterius, re atque usu prius quam fieri (consulem)*, "for to exercise the office of consulship is in point of time posterior, but in respect of qualifications and experience prior, to being elected." The

meaning is, that as no one can exercise an office till he is appointed, so no one ought to receive an appointment till he has the necessary qualifications. Marius intimates that he had the qualifications first, and office last. These *præposterii homines* began at the wrong end—with them it was office first, and qualifications afterwards. — **12.** *Quæ illi*, &c.,—the relative clause before the antecedent. § 99, R. iii., Expl.: — *facta*, i. e., *factane*, or *num facta*. § 140, 5, Note:—*pluris sint*, “are of more value.” § 133, Exc. — **13.** *Fortissimum quemque generosissimum*, “That the bravest is the most noble.” § 98, Obs. 13. — **14.** *Si . . . quæri posset*. § 113, Obs. 1: — *quam optimos*. § 134, Obs. 6, 3d: — *faciant idem*, “let them do the same,” i. e., “let them despise;” used imperatively. § 42, Obs. 9. So *invideant*: — *per hæc illum* (scil., *honorem*), “by the latter I obtained the former.” — **15.** *Falsi sunt*, “Are deceived,” i. e., “deceive themselves:” — *ignaviae voluptatem, et præmia virtutis*, in apposition with *res*: — *eorum*, scil., *majorum*. — **16.** *Quod contra est*, “But it is (just) the reverse.” § 99, Obs. 8: — *eorum*, scil., *posterorum*. — **17.** *Hujusce rei*, “Of this thing,” viz., to speak of the deeds of his ancestors. — **18.** *Sed in maximo vestro beneficio*, “But in the very great favor you have shown me,” namely, by electing him consul: — *non placuit reticere*, &c., “I thought it best (lit., it pleased me) not to be silent, lest any should construe my moderation (i. e., silence) into a consciousness of guilt,”—an admission that what the nobles said of him was true. — **19.** *Ex animi mei sententia*, “In my judgment:” — *quippe vera*, &c. Arrange and supply thus, *quippe necesse est (ut) vera (oratio) prædicet bene (de me)*: — *qui mihi*, &c.; *qui* has for its antecedent *vestrum* implied in, or the equivalent of *vestra*. § 30, Obs. 1, and § 99, Obs. 2: — *num eorum (consiliorum vos) pænitendum sit*, “whether you ought to repent of these (measures).” § 113, Exc. II. — **20.** *Fidei causa*, “For the sake of inspiring you with confidence in me:” — *ut illa illis*, “as those things (scil., images, triumphs, consulships of ancestors) are to them.” — **21.** *Non sunt composita*, &c., “My language (they say) is not polished; for that I care little.” — **22.** *Quippe quæ*, &c., “Since it has not profited those who teach it, in regard to bravery;” alluding to the subjugation of Greece by the Romans. — **23.** *At illa* (§ 126, R. iv., and § 97, Obs. 7.) *multa optima*, &c., “But I have been instructed in those things which are by much the best for the commonwealth:” — *præsidia agitare*, “to keep guard:” — *neque illos arte (arcte)*, &c., “neither will I treat them with rigor—myself with indul-

gence." — 24. *Exercitum supplicio cogere, id, &c.*, "To compel the army by corporal punishment, &c., that is to be a tyrant, not a commander." — 25. *Quis nobilitas freta*, "Our nobility, trusting to these, though themselves unlike them in character." *Nobilitas freta = nobiles freti*: — *et . . . repetit*, "and demand?" — *sui*, "of themselves," "their." — 26. *Sordidum me et incultis moribus*. Here again, as is common in Sallust, two different constructions are connected: — *neque pluris pretii, &c.*, "nor a cook of more value than a steward." Marius here censures the luxury of these nobles in which they were so unlike their ancestors, of whom they boasted: — *quæ mihi libet confiteri*, "(charges) which I am willing to admit." — 27. *Quin ergo—faciant*, "Why then do they not do," = "Let them do:" — *amint, &c.* § 42, Obs. 9: — *ibi = in illis*, referring to *ubi = in quibus*, the antecedent clause; *ibi, &c.*, to be translated first; both refer to what follows, *in convivis, &c.* — 28. *Ereptum eunt*, "They proceed to snatch away." § 148, R. lxiii: — *rei publicæ innoxie cladis sunt*, "they are ruinous (they bring destruction) to the innocent republic." § 114, R. xix. — 29. *Nam quæ, &c.* See Note 12 above: — *omnia removistis, avaritiam, &c.* By these three terms he means Bestia, Albinus, Metellus, whom they had removed by the appointment of Marius. — 30. *Deinde*, "In the next place," in relation to *Primum omnium*: — *felix*, "fortunate:" — *attrita est*, "has been worn down"—"destroyed." — 31. *Militaris ætas*, i. e., from 17 to 46 years of age: — *capessite rem publicam*, "espouse the cause of the commonwealth." — 32. *Consultor idem et socius periculi*, "At once as an adviser, and sharer in the danger:" — *geram*, "I will treat." — 33. *Deccebat = decreret*. § 44, II., 3: — *utî æterni forent . . . (quam) utî boni, &c.*, "that they should live for ever, rather than that they should live brave and honorable men."

LXXXVI.—1. *Hujusemodi*, "To this effect." — 2. *Neque ex classibus*, "Nor from the classes;" viz., from which the Roman soldiers were usually taken. By the institution of Servius Tullius (Liv. I., 42, 43.) the Roman citizens were divided into six classes, ranked according to their wealth. The first consisted of the richest citizens, and the others in regular progression down to the lowest or sixth class, consisting of those who had no property, and were therefore said to be *capite censi*, "rated by the head." This class was by far the most numerous, and was, in fact, though not in form, almost excluded from the management of public affairs. Before the time of Marius, except

in dangerous emergencies, none were taken from this class to serve in the legions, but only from the first five, or property classes. The change here mentioned as introduced by Marius, of enlisting soldiers from the lowest class, enabled him with ease to raise an army of able-bodied soldiers, well fitted to endure the hardships and toils of war. But as these men were not willing, when the war was over, to return to their former mode of life, they soon became a powerful and ready instrument in the hands of ambitious generals, such as Sulla and Cæsar—a state of things which contributed greatly to the final overthrow of the empire. — 3. *Inopia bonorum*, “From the want of good men,” (i. e., of those belonging to the five property classes): — *celebratus auctusque erat*, “he had been extolled and promoted:” — *cui neque sua curæ*, &c., “who has no concern for his own property, for he has none; and all things (attended) with profit appear to be honorable,” lit., “to whom his own things are not a care,” &c. § 114, R. xix. — 4. *Aliquanto majore numero*, “With a considerably larger army.” — 5. *Utici advehitur*, “Arrives at Utica.” This was the most important city in the province of Africa. It was a more ancient Phœnician colony than even Carthage. In the second Punic war, after it had revolted from Carthage, it was rewarded by the Romans with freedom and independence. It is now called Biserta, and is situate north-west of Tunis. — 6. *Animus*, “His proud spirit.”

LXXXVII.—1. *Præda onustum*, “Full of plunder,” i. e., of property fit to be taken as booty: — *alia aliis locis*, “some in one place and some in another,” i. e., “in different places.” § 98, Obs. 11. — 2. *Pugnæ adesse*, “Engaged in battle.” *Adesse, videre*, historical infinitives: — *armis*, the ablative of the instrument, related to *tegi* and *quari*. — 3. *At reges*, scil., Jugurtha and Bocchus: — *diversi*, “separately.” — 4. *Romanos . . . laxius licentiusque futuros*, “That the Romans . . . would be more careless and disorderly.” § 103, Obs. 1, (3.)

LXXXVIII.—1. *Contra spem suam*, “Contrary to his expectation.” — 2. *Marius*—subject of the historical infinitives, *attendere, cognoscere*, &c.: — *quid boni utrisque aut contra esset*, “what was advantageous for each, or the contrary:” — *anterevenire*, “prevented,” “thwarted.” — 3. *Prædas agentes*, “Driving off booty,” viz., cattle or such booty as is removed by driving: — *armis exuerat*, “had stripped of his arms,” i. e., had put to flight, in which he threw away his arms. —

4. *Quæ postquam*, &c., "After he found that these exploits were only for display, and not calculated to bring the war to a close." For this use of the gerundive in the genitive see § 147, Obs. 9: — *viris aut loco*, "in respect of men or of situation." § 128, R. xxxiv.: — *singulas circumvenire*, "to invest one by one," i. e., "one after another:" — *ita Jugurtham*, supply *putavit*, "he thought that in this way Jugurtha," &c.: — *si ea pateretur*, "if he suffered these things," i. e., did not try to prevent them. — 5. *Ne quid ab se hostile timeret*, "(requesting him) not to fear any thing hostile from him" (Boechus). — 6. *Quo improvisus gravior accideret*, "That he might on a sudden fall more heavily (on the Romans)." Both adjectives are used adverbially. § 98, Obs. 10: — *pacem atque bellum mutare*, "to exchange peace for war."

LXXXIX.—1. *Partim—alia*, = *alia—alia*, "Some—others:" — *avertere ab hostibus*, "he drew over from the enemy." — 2. *Mediocris*, scil., *negotia*, "Operations of no great importance:" — *in manus venturum*, "would come within reach," "to close combat;" thus *conserere manus* means "to fight hand to hand." — 3. *Aggredi tempus visum est*, "It seemed to be a fit time to attempt." — 4. *Capsa*. This town was situate in the eastern part of Numidia, between the river Bagradas and the lake Tritonis. It is believed still to exist under the name of Cafza, and to have been founded by the Libyan (i. e., the African) Hercules. Or rather, it was founded by the Phœnicians, whose conquests are ascribed to a Phœnician Hercules, and the north coast of Africa was the principal scene of their operations. Ancient mythology speaks of several heroes of the name of Hercules. Cicero reckons up six, and Varro, forty; but the heroic achievements of all are ascribed to one—the son of Jupiter and Alcmena. — 5. *Immunis*, "Exempt from taxes." — 6. *Nam, præter (loca) oppido propinqua*, "For except the places near the town:" — *ipsa pernicioso*, "deadly in itself." — 7. *Quum—tum*, "Not only—but also:" — *una modo . . . jugi aqua*, "one running spring only," lit., "one perpetual water:" — *cetera pluvia (aqua)*, "the rest rain water." — 8. *Id*, "That," namely, scarcity of water: — *quæ . . . incultius agebat*, lit., "which remained in greater want of cultivation," meaning, "the people of which, being at a distance from the sea, live more rudely." The word *agere* commonly refers to the inhabitants, and, with *vitam*, signifies "to live;" but here, by a very unusual transfer,

is applied to the country itself, meaning, however, the inhabitants—Cortius has *qui . . . agebant*, which seems harsh after *Africa*.

XC.—1. *Consul*, subject of *exornat* below: — *credo*, “I suppose,” used parenthetically, and not affecting the construction of the rest of the sentence: — *frumenti inopia tentabatur*, “he was brought into difficulty by the want of corn:” — *pabulo pecoris*, &c., “care more for the pasturage of their cattle, than for tillage.” — **2.** *Quodcunque natum fuerat*, “Whatever had been produced from the fields,” i. e., “any crop there was:” — *æstatis extremum*, “the end of summer.” — **3.** *Pro rei copia*, “Considering all circumstances:” — *exornat* (*exercitum*), “supplies his army.” — **4.** *Agendum*, “To be driven away:” — *se prædabundum*, “that he, after having made a predatory excursion.”

XCI. 1.—Turmas. The complement of cavalry belonging to each legion was 300. These were divided into ten *turme*, or troops, each containing thirty men. See Lat. Gr. App. V.: — *æqualiter*, “equally,” i. e., in proportion to their numbers. — **2.** *Ex coriis utres*, “Bottles made of skins.” § 128, Obs. 2: — *ignaris*, “ignorant (of his designs):” — *maxima vis*, “a very great quantity.” — **3.** *Cibum capere, atque . . . paratos esse.* — **4.** *Noctem*—acc. of time how long; with *proxima* and *tertia*, supply *nocte*, abl. of time when: — *dum millium* (scil., *passuum*), “of two miles.” § 24, 5. — **5.** *Ipse intentus propere sequi*, “He himself was careful to follow:” — *neque*, “and not.” — **6.** *Quæ*, “These things.” § 99, Obs. 8: — *res trepide*, “their dangerous condition.” — **7.** *Id facinus*, “This deed.” Sallust here endeavors, but in vain, to palliate the cruel and unjustifiable conduct of Marius towards the people of this town, which had surrendered at discretion, by the peculiarity of his situation, and the faithlessness of the Numidian character: — *admissum*, “committed:” — *genus hominum*, referring to the Numidians generally

XCH.—1. *Omnia, non bene consulta*, &c., “All his operations, even those not well considered, were ascribed to his great military talents:” — *locupletes*, scil., *præda*: — *cuncta portendi*, “that every thing was revealed to him.” — **2.** *Ea res = id*, namely, the destruction of Capsa: — *igni corrumpit*, “he destroys by fire.” — **3.** *Exercitu incruento*, “Without loss:” — *non eadem asperitate qua Capsensium*, “not of the same perilous nature as that of the Capsians.” *Cap-*

sensium depends on *res erat* understood, lit., "as was the affair of," &c. — 4. *Inter ceteram planitiem*, "In the midst of the plain." The meaning is, that except this single mountain, all the rest (*ceteram*) was a plain: — *satis patens*, "large enough" (scil., on the top): — *omnia*, scil., *loca*, "in all parts," i. e., every where = *omnibus locis*. § 128, Exe.: — *velut opere atque consulto*, "as if (made so) by art and design." — 5. *Forte, quam consilio melius gesta*, "Was effected more by chance than good management." — 6. *Nam castello*, lit., "For there was to the fort," i. e., "the fort had (or contained)." § 112, R. ii.: — *aggeribus . . . locus importunus*, "the place was unfit for mounds," i. e., the methods of attacking towns usually employed by the Romans (Ch. XXXVII, 4, ad fin., and Ch. XXI, 5.) were of no avail here: — *iter castellanorum*, "the road of those inhabiting the fortress," i. e., the way up to the fort. — 7. *Milites neque consistere*, scil., *poterant*, "The soldiers could neither stand:" — *pro opere*, "in front of the work," i. e., of the vineæ: — *iniquitatem loci*, lit., "the unevenness of the place," i. e., "the steepness of the ascent:" — *inter vineas* = *intra vineas*, "within (under cover of) the vineæ:" — *administrare*, "labor."

XCIII.—1. *Anxius trahere*, "Anxiously considered." § 98, Obs. 10. — 2. *Æstuans*, "In great perplexity," lit., "boiling with vexation:" — *Ligus*, "Ligurian"—one belonging to the country of Liguria in the north of Italy, of which Genoa was the capital. Of these there were four cohorts among the Roman auxiliaries (Ch. LXXVII.), and being accustomed at home to the life of mountaineers, the exploit here mentioned is the more plausible. — 3. *Aquatun*, "To get water"—the supine. § 148, 1: — *quod aversum præliantibus*, "which was turned away from (was not seen from) where they were fighting:" — *animum advertit* = *animadvertit*: — *cochleas*, "snails." These were held in high repute among the ancients as an article of food: — *egressus est*, "he got up." — 4. *Solitudinem intellexit*, "He perceived the solitude," i. e., that there were none on that side of the mountain to see him, the attention of all having been drawn to the scene of conflict on the opposite side of the fortress: — *cupido diffœilia*, &c., "the desire of performing difficult exploits changed his mind," viz., from the occupation of gathering snails to examine the interior of the fort. — 5. *Modo prona*, "Only sloping down" (at first): — *dein flexa*, &c. "then having bent and grown upwards:" — *quo cuncta*, &c., "as nature inclines all plants;" *gignentium*, subs. governed by *cuncta*.

§ 106, Obs. 8: — *modo—modo*, “at one time—at another:” — *castelli planitiem perscribit*, “he reconnoitres the area of the fortress,” lit., “makes a plan of.” — 6. *Non temere, uti escenderat*, “Not carelessly, as he had gone up:” — *tentans*, “exploring.” — 7. *Hortatur . . . tentet*. § 140, Obs. 5. — 8. *Promissa ejus cognitum*, “To test his promises.” Note 3, above. After *misit* supply *quosdam*. — 9. *Paulum arrectus*, “Was a little excited:” *parum arrectus*, would mean “little excited;” *paulum* is positive, “a little”—*parum* is negative, “little.” — 10. *Præsidio qui forent*, “To be a guard.” § 141, Obs. 2, 4th.

XCIV.—1. *Pergit*, i. e., *Ligus pergit*. — 2. *Uti prospectus*, &c., “That the view before them, and their climbing over the rocks:” — *verum ea Numidica*, &c., “but these were Numidian shields made of hides:” — *offensa*, “when struck” (against the rocks). — 3. *Saxa . . . laqueis vincebat*, “Fastened ropes round projecting stones:” — *et (radices arborum) si quæ vetustate radices eminebant*, “and the roots of trees, if any roots projected owing to their age:” — *quibus allevati*, “assisted by which:” — *levare manu*, “he assisted them with his hand,” hist. inf.—so *mittere, sequi, tentare, addere*. — *que dubia nisu* (for *nisui*, § 16, Exe. 2.) *videbantur, potissimus tentare*, “places which seemed dangerous to attempt, he first tried.” — 4. *Desertum ab ea parte*, “Deserted (left defenceless) on that side.” — 5. *Intentos prælio Numidas habuerat*, “He had kept the Numidians intent on the battle,” scil., in order to withdraw their attention from the proceedings of the Ligurian and his company. — 6. *Testudine acta*, “Forming a testudo.” The testudo was formed by the soldiers standing close together and holding their shields over their heads, so that one overlapped another, like the scales of a tortoise (whence the name *testudo*). By this means the missiles thrown from above glanced off from the shields without injuring those protected by them. — 7. *Agitare*, “Walked about:” — *ac Mario vecordiam objectare*, “and upbraided Marius with madness:” — *militibus nostris*, &c., “threatened to make our soldiers slaves to Jugurtha,” lit., “the slavery of Jugurtha to our soldiers.” — 8. *Signa canere (tubicines)*, “The trumpeters sounded the signals (of attack):” — *visum processerant*, “had gone out to see (the battle):” — *euncti*, &c., scil., *fugere*: — *neque præda morari*, “nor did the booty detain.” — 9. *Sic forte*, &c., “Thus the rashness of Marius, being corrected by fortune, procured him glory from a blunder;” meaning, his inconsiderate rashness in attempting to reduce a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable.

XCV.—1. *Quos uti . . . cogeret*, "To collect whom," scil., *equites*, the antecedent of *quos*, implied in *equitatu*. § 99, Obs. 2: — *res*, "the subject," i. e., the present narrative: — *nos tanti viri admonuit*. § 122, R. xxvii. — **2.** *L. Sisenna*, an early cotemporary of Cicero. He wrote a history of the civil war between Marius and Sulla; but, being himself a partizan of Sulla, he was thought to be not quite unbiassed in his judgment: — after *persecutus*, supply *Sullæ naturam cultumque*: — *parum libero ore*, "with too little freedom." — **3.** *Majorum ignavia*, "In consequence of the inactivity of his ancestors," scil., of the *gens Cornelia—extincta* refers to the loss of political power and influence, rather than to physical decay: — *atque doctissime*, "and that very profoundly:" — *otio luxurioso*; with this and *animo ingenti*, just before, supply *homo* in the predicate nominative. § 106, R. vii. — **4.** *Nisi quod*, &c., "Except that he might have acted more honorably in respect to his wife." Sulla, it is said, was five times married, and in every case was highly censurable for his infidelity and debauchery: — *consuli* is used impersonally, and imparts this character to *potuit* before it. § 113, Obs. 1: — *amicitia facilis*, "pleasing in his friendship." § 128, R. xxxiv. — **5.** *Super industriam*, "Greater than his activity:" — *fortior*, i. e., *num fortior*, or *fortiorne*, § 140, 5; Note: so (*num*) *pudeat*. This has reference to the excesses committed by Sulla after his victory over Marius in the civil war. See Cat., Ch. IV., 6.

XCVI.—1. *In paucis tempestatibus*, "In a short time." The use of *tempestates* in the plural in this sense seems to be peculiar to Sallust. — **2.** *Per se ipse* (as if *se ipsum*, § 98, Exe. 5.), "Of his own accord:" — *invitus*, "unwillingly," § 98, Obs. 10; so *multus* with *adesse*, below; with *accipere* and *repetere*, supply *beneficia*: — *res mutuum*, "borrowed money." — **3.** *Magis id laborare*, "This rather he endeavored;" *id* refers to the following clause, § 97, Obs. 7: — *illi* = *sibi*, "to him," scil., Sulla. — **4.** *Quod prava ambitio solet*, "As depraved ambition is wont to do:" — *quod* = *id quod*, "and this," referring to the following clause, *consulis*, &c.: — *plerosque antevenerit*, "he excelled the most."

XCVII.—1. *Quam primum copias adduceret*, i. e., *qui diceret ut quam primum*, &c., "To tell him to bring his forces as soon as possible." § 145, Obs. 5, 3d Note. — **2.** *Quem ubi accepit*, "When he heard that he." § 99, Obs. 8: — *dubium belli*, &c., "at a loss was weighing

deliberately the advantages of peace and war:" — *proximos*, "his particular friends:" — *ipsisque Mauro*, scil., *Boccho*: — *suis finibus*, "his (Jugurtha's) territories." — 3. *Die*, genitive for *diei*. § 17, Exc.: — *nullo* (obsolete for *nulli*, § 20, Note 2.) *impedimento*, scil., *sibi fore*. § 114, R. xix.: — *contra*, "on the other hand:" — *utrumque casum*, "that either event," scil., victory or defeat. — 4. *Exercitus* (namely of Marius), subject of *quivit*—a word of less power than *potuit*: — *signum*, "a signal" usually given by the trumpet: — *Mauri*, *Gætuli*, both adjectives: — *catervatim*, "in separate bands." — 5. *Ascendere*, *ire*, *fieri*, hist. inf.: — *latrocinio*, "an encounter with robbers:" — *signis*, "standards:" — *cedere*, "they cut down"—"slew:" — *obtruncare*, "mutilated:" — *tegere*, scil., *nostros*. — 6. *Romani veteres novique (mixti)*, &c., "The Roman veterans and the new soldiers (who had been mingled with them), and for that reason skilled in warfare:" — *orbes facere*, "formed themselves into circles," viz., so as to present a front to the enemy all round. Some editions leave out *novique*, and so confine what is here said to *veteres*; in that case *ob ea* would refer to the fact of their being veterans.

XCIII.—1. *Tam aspero negotio*, "So fierce a conflict." — *de misso animo*. § 106, R. vii.: — *manu consulere militibus*, "assisted his soldiers by fighting." — 2. *Nihil remittere*, "Did not leave off:" — *pro se*, "favorable to them:" — *rati* agrees with *barbari*. — 3. *Ex copia rerum consilium trahit*, "Adopts measures according to his circumstances:" — *propinquos inter se*, "near each other." § 28, Obs. 5: — *parum amplo*, "too small:" — *quarebat*, "required," "needed:" — *neque = et non*, or *nequidem*: — *pleno gradu*, "in full step," i. e., "at a quick pace." — 4. *Effusi conserere*, "Encamped in a scattered manner," "without any regular order." — 5. *Streperere vocibus*, "Shouted," "yelled:" — *et ipsi duces feroces*, "and the leaders themselves (Jugurtha and Bocchus) highly elated:" — *pro victoribus*, "as if they were conquerors."

XCIX.—1. *Imperitia hostium*, "By the unskilful conduct of the enemy," viz., as described in the close of the preceding chapter. — 2. *Ne signa . . . canere*, "That not even the signals should be sounded." *Canere* is sometimes transitive, and has *signum* or *signa* for its object, as below; sometimes intransitive, with *signum* or *signa* for its subject, as here: — *ut per vigiliis solebant*. The night was divided by the

Romans into four watches, the beginning of each of which was announced by sounding the *buccina* or horn. This customary announcement was on the present occasion ordered to be omitted: — *omnes simul*, "all at once." — 3. *Nullo subveniente*, "No one coming to their assistance:" — *formido quasi vecordia*, "terror like a frenzy." *Formido* is a stronger term than *timor*, and expresses the highest degree of fear: — *terrore*, "from the fright."

C.—1. *Quadrato agmine*, "With his army in column." This does not mean that it was formed in a square having equal sides; but in the form of a parallelogram or quadrilateral rectangular figure, whose opposite sides are equal, but the length of which is greater than the breadth. — 2. *Apud dextimos curabat*, "Commanded on the extreme right." *Curabat*, in this clause, is absolute or intransitive; so also in the next: but in the last it is transitive and governs *cohortes*. § 38, Obs. 5: — *primos et extremos . . . tribunos locaverat*, "he (Marius) had placed the tribunes in the van and rear," lit., "first and last." — 3. *Perfugæ*, "Deserters," viz., from the Numidian army, Ch. LVI., 2; these are said to be *minime cari*, persons "very little valued." — 4. *Quasi nullo imposito*, "As if no one had been placed in command." — 5. *Item milites cogebat*, "And obliged the soldiers to be so too," i. e., to be armed and on their guard: — *neque secus*, &c. Arrange, *neque munire castra secus atque facere iter*, "nor did he fortify his camp otherwise (i. e., with less care) than he performed his march:" — *secus atque*. § 149, Obs. 6. — 6. *Excubitum* (supine), "To keep watch," to be supplied again with *equites auxiliares*: — *non tam diffidentia futurum, quæ imperavisset*, "not so much from want of confidence that those things which he had ordered would be done." Here the subject of *futurum* (*esse*) is *ea* understood which would regularly require *futura* (*esse*). This is the only instance known in the classics in which *futurum* is used in the future infinitive as indeclinable; but Gellius shows that this was not uncommon in the early writers. The Bipont edition has *futura*: — *quam uti*, &c., "as that the labor, being equally shared by the commander, might be more agreeable to (i. e., might be more cheerfully endured by) the soldiers." For this construction see Ch. LXXXIV., 5. — 7. *Belli* governed by *temporibus*: — *putore*, "by shame," scil., lest they should not equal the labors of their commander: — *quam male*, "than by punishment:" — *quod . . . fieri*, "that this was done:" — *per ambitionem*, "from a desire of popularity:" — *pars* (*quod*

fieri aiebant) quod, "others (said that this was done) because:" — *a pueritia consuetam*, "become familiar to him from his boyhood:" — *voluptati habuisset*, "he had considered as a pleasure." § 114, Obs. 4: — *nisi tamen*, "still however," i. e., no matter from what motive.

CI.—1. *Citi.* § 98, Obs. 10: — *diversi (speculatores)*, "different scouts:" — *alius ab alia parte.* § 98, Obs. 11. — 2. *Jugurtham spes frustrata (est)*, "Jugurtha's expectation disappointed him," lit., "his expectation disappointed Jugurtha:" — *aeque*, "equally," i. e., in any event: — *attigerant*, "had come up to:" — *turmatim*, &c., "in separate troops, and with their horses in as close order as possible." — 3. *Bocchus cum peditibus . . . invadunt.* § 102, Obs. 2: — *neque . . . adfuerant*, "and who had not been present." — 4. *Agebat*, "Was engaged:" — *Numida*, i. e., *Jugurtha*: — *clam convertit (se) ad pedites*, "secretly turned away to some infantry"—most probably Roman infantry, as he is here said to have addressed them in Latin: — *sua manu*, "by his (Jugurtha's) hand:" — *sanguine oblitum*, "covered with blood,"—from *oblino*. — 5. *Quod ubi milites accepere*, "When the soldiers heard this," § 99, Obs. 8. — 6. *Paulum ab fuga aberant*, "Were nearly giving way:" — *avertitur*, "is put to flight." — 7. *Ab equitibus*, "By the (Roman) cavalry:" — *omnibus occisis*, scil., *comitibus*, "all his attendants being slain:" — *vitabundus*, "with a desperate effort to escape." — 8. *Auxilio suis.* § 114, Obs. 1: — *quos* (subject of *pellit*), "who." § 145, Obs. 2: — *sequi, fugere, occidi, capi*, "they pursued," &c.,—a beautiful example of Asyndeton. § 150, 1, 1st. — 9. *Afflicti*, "Dashed to the ground:" — *niti modo (surgere)*, "one moment they strove to rise:" — *qua visus erat*, "as far as the eye could reach," lit., "where there was a view." *Visus*, a noun.

CII.—1. *Postea loci = postea*, "Afterwards." § 135, 1: — *profectus intenderat*, "when he set out he had directed his march." — 2. *Post diem quintum quam = die quinto postquam*, "On the fifth day after:" — *duos quam fidissimos . . . (ut) mitteret.* § 140, Obs. 5. See § 145, Obs. 5, 3d, Note; and above, Ch. XCVII, 1: — *de suo*, scil., *commodo*. — 3. *Qui quamquam acciti ibant*, "Although they went on invitation." It was therefore proper they should wait to hear what Bocchus had to say; but instead of this, they began to speak first, for the reasons here mentioned: — *aversum*, "if disin-

clined" (to peace): — *cujus facundiæ*, &c., "to whose eloquence, not to his age, precedence was given by Manlius." — 4. *Te . . . uti aliquando . . . malle*, "You at length to choose." § 122, Obs. 4: — *talem virum*, and *optimum* below, are intended as flattery: — *neu commaculares*, "and not to stain:" — *simul nobis demeres*, "at the same time to take from us," i. e., "to relieve us from." The subjunctive thus used (§ 145, Obs. 5.) may often be rendered as the infinitive. — 5. *Errantem*. The conduct of Boecchus he here softens down, by representing him as "erring" merely, as being misled. — 6. *Rati*, scil., *Romani*, from *populo Romano* in the preceding clause. — 7. *Procul absumus*, "We are a great way off:" — *in quo*, "a circumstance in which:" — *gratia par ac*, "our friendship is just the same as:" — *dein*, related to *primum* above: — *parentes* (from *pareo*), "subjects," lit., "persons obeying." — 8. *Ad hoc tempus*, "By this time:" — *perpersus es*, "you have suffered:" — *humanarum rerum . . . pleraque*. § 106, R. viii.: — *cui*, scil., *fortunæ*. — 9. *Quo facilius*, &c., "That by good services you may the more easily compensate for (past) errors." — 10. *Unde vi Jugurtham expulerit*, "From which he (Boecchus) had expelled Jugurtha by force." Boecchus here states what was not true; for he had never driven Jugurtha from any part of Numidia, nor even opposed him in war. His object in this probably was to induce the Romans to think there was no friendly feeling between Jugurtha and him, and for this reason he would be a more desirable ally to the Romans. — 11. *Repulsum (esse) ab amicitia*, "That he had been repelled from their friendship." See above, Ch. LXXX.: — *vetera omittere*, "that he said nothing of things past." — 12. *Copia facta*, "After permission was granted," scil., to send an embassy to Rome.

CIV.—1. *In loca sola*, "Into the desert:" — *obsessum turrim regiam*, "to besiege a fortress of the king." § 148, 1: — *perfugas*, "the deserters," scil., from the Romans to him. See Ch. LVI., 2. These deserters he knew would make a most vigorous defence, well knowing what they would have to suffer if they fell into the hands of the Romans. — 2. *Venerant* for *evenerant*, "Had happened:" — *in-corruptos reliquerat*, "had left unbribed." — 3. *Si placeat*, "If it pleased him," scil., Marius: — *sine decore*, "without equipage:" — *pro prætore*, "as prætor," i. e., commander-in-chief in his absence. — 4. *Pro vanis hostibus*, "As fickle enemies," *habuit* in this clause signifies "to consider," or, "regard,"—in the next by a Zeugma, "to

treat:" — *accurate*, "with attention:" — *qua re*, "in consequence of this." — 5. *Largitio*, "Giving money for bribery:" — *in benignitate habebantur*, "were considered as acts of kindness." — 6. *Regis sui*, "Of their king:" — *benevolentiae*, "fitted to gain good will;"—the dative of the end, § 114, R. xix., supply *ei*, Obs. 4, scil., *regi Boccho*.

CIV.—1. *Marius postquam, confecto negotio quo intenderat (iter), Cirtam redit*, "As soon as Marius returns to Cirta, after he had finished the business (in the place) whither he had directed his course." The readings in this clause are so various and unsettled, that it is difficult to know with certainty what Sallust did write. Of the reading in the text, it can be said only that it is as likely to be correct as any of the others: — *cognoscit*, "he takes into consideration." — 2. *Ea*, "These things," referring to *potestas eundi* and *induciae*, § 98, Obs. 3: — *ferocius*, "more harshly:" — *in adversa*, "for the worse." — 3. *Stipendium*, "Money to pay the army:" — *quum—tum maxime*, "not only—but especially:" — *libens accepit*, "heard with great pleasure." — 4. *Postquam errasse regem, &c.*, "After they apologized (by acknowledging) that the king had committed an error, and had been misled by the wicked artifices of Jugurtha." — 5. *Delicti gratiam facit*, "They pardon the offence."

CV.—1. *Cujus arbitrato*, "By whose intervention:" — *consulere*, used impersonally. § 85, 3. — 2. *Funditorum Balearium*, "Of Balearian slingers." The inhabitants of the Balearian isles (Majorca, Minorca, Ivica) were celebrated in antiquity as slingers. Their weapon was a leathern sling, by which leaden bullets were thrown, with great skill and accuracy, a distance of 500 paces. — 3. *Cohors Peligna*. The Pelignians were a people of central Italy near the Adriatic: — *velitaribus armis*, "with arms used by the *velites*;" scil., a round shield, a short sword, seven javelins with slender points, and a light helmet. — 4. *Cum mille non amplius equitibus*, "With not more than a thousand cavalry." § 120, Obs. 3: — *et numerum ampliorem . . . efficiebant*, "both caused the number to appear greater, and excited," &c. Here there is a Zeugma in *efficiebant*, i. e., it has a different meaning in each of the two clauses to which it belongs. § 150, 1, 2d. — 5. *Se quisque expedire, &c.*, "Each got himself ready (for the fight)—made trial of his arms and javelins—presented them against (towards) the enemy:" — *timor*

aliquantus, scil., *illis fuit*: — *quippe victoribus*, “because victors.” *Victoribus* is in the dative agreeing with *illis*: — *uti erat*, “as really was the case.”

CVI.—1. *Et præsidio*, “And to be their guard.” § 114, Obs. 4. — **2.** *Incerto vultu*, “With a troubled look.” — **3.** *Animo feroci*, “With stern resolution:” — *credere*; with this infinitive, and *mansurum potius (esse)*, supply *dicit* or *dicens*: — *mansurum potius quam*, &c., “that he would stand his ground rather than, betraying his men whom he led, by base flight save a life uncertain (at the best), and perhaps soon to perish by disease.” Instead of *parceret*, the regular construction would require *parsurum*, being connected by *quam* with *mansurum*. This may be accounted for by supposing an ellipsis; thus, *mansurum potius, quam (commissurum ut) parceret*. The indicative shows that *quos ducebat* is not the language of Sulla, but is thrown in by Sallust to explain (*militibus*) *proditis*. § 141, Obs. 5, 1st. — **4.** *Cœnatos esse*, “To dispatch supper,” lit., “to have supped.” The perfect infinitive, instead of the present, to express eagerness and haste: — *ante eos*, “before them,” scil., on the road by which they had to pass. — **5.** *Fuere, qui dicerent*, “Some said.” § 141, Obs. 1.

CVII.—1. *Quanto sibi . . . minus pepercissent*, “The less they spared themselves:” — *nudum et cæcum corpus ad hostes vertere*, “to turn towards the enemy that part of the body which was unprotected and without eyes,” scil., to see and avoid approaching danger. — **2.** *Ille*, scil., *Volux*: — *orare ne ea crederet (dicens) nihil dolo factum (esse)*. § 145, Obs. 5, 3d, Note. — **3.** *Cui*, “By whom.” § 126, R. xxxiii. — **4.** *Neque haberet*, “He (Jugurtha), did not have:” — *ex suo patre*, “on his (Volux’s) father:” i. e., Bocchus: — *credere* “he (Volux) thought:” — *illum*, “that he” (Jugurtha). — **5.** *Quare optimum factu videri*, “Wherefore he (Volux) thought it best,” lit., “the thing best to be done seemed to him to be:” — *per media ejus castra*, “through the midst of his (Jugurtha’s) camp,”—perhaps made in two divisions, or in a very scattered manner: — *sese*, “that he himself” (Volux). — **6.** *Ut in tali negotio*, “As the matter stood” — intimating that, in other circumstances, so hazardous a course would not have been adopted. — **7.** *Acciderant*, “They had come upon him.”

CVIII.—1. *Multum et familiariter agebat*, “Was holding much and friendly intercourse:” — *orator et subdole*, &c., “as an ambas-

sador, and (at the same time) craftily to spy out the designs of Bocchus." § 148, 1: — *impar*, "inferior." — 2. *Quem*, "This man," namely Dabar: — *nuntiatum*, "to tell him." § 148, 1: — *ipse*, i. e., *Sulla*. — 3. *Consulta scse omnia*, &c., "That he was keeping every subject of discussion with him untouched," i. e., he was determining nothing by himself, but leaving every thing to be settled in conference with him—*consulta*, subs. *consultum*. — 4. *Neu Jugurthæ*, &c., "In order that the common business might be transacted (between them) more freely, that he should disregard the ambassador of Jugurtha (whom he allowed at his court), for otherwise precaution could not be taken against his intrigues." Bocchus here represents that the presence of the envoy of Jugurtha at his court need be no obstacle to the free discussion of their common affairs, that he permitted his presence as a matter of policy, to prevent suspicion on the part of Jugurtha. Whereas if he were dismissed, or not suffered to be present, his suspicions would be awakened, and there would be constant trouble and danger from his intrigues. In this sentence also the readings are various, and the true meaning not well settled. — 5. *Magis Punica fide*, &c., "More with treacherous intent, than for the reasons he pretended, kept both the Romans and Jugurtha amused with the hope of peace." *Punica fides* is the same thing as *mala fides*, and a sort of proverbial expression to denote treachery and perfidiousness—the Carthaginians being regarded by the Romans as eminently perfidious and deceitful. — 6. *Libidinem adversum nos*, &c., "That his inclination urged him against us—his fear pleaded in our favor."

CIX.—1. *Pauca . . . locuturum*, "That he would say but little:" — *quæ sibi responderentur*, "what answer should be made to him," i. e. to Sulla by Bocchus, viz., in the presence of the envoy of Jugurtha. — 2. *Quæsitum*. § 148, 1: — *pacem*, i. e., *num pacem*. § 140, 5, Note. — 3. *Ac (dicit) nihil*, &c., "And (says) that as yet he had decided on nothing:" — *ambo*, i. e., Bocchus and Sulla. — 4. *Sanctus vir, et ex sententia ambobus*, "A man of integrity, and acceptable to both parties."

CX.—1. *Nunquam ego ratus sum*, "I never could have anticipated:" — *fore uti . . . deberem*. § 145, Obs. 6: — *omnium*, scil., *regum*: — *privato homini*. In the vocabulary of Bocchus, kings only are public characters; hence he calls Sulla "a private man:" — *orantibus*, "at their request:" — *ultra*, "of my own accord."

2. *Id imminutum*, "That that (ability) is diminished"—*quod* refers to this clause: — *fuert mihi*, "let it be my fortune." The subject of *fuert* is the following clause, *eguisse*, &c.,—it is in the perf. subjunctive used concessively. § 45, III., 4: — *aliquando*, "at last," i. e., after so long a period of prosperity: — *id adeo experiri licet*, "and this too you may put to the test." — 3. *Nunquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris*, "Never think the favor repaid to you"—*putaveris* is used imperatively. § 45, III., 4: — *integra*, "unimpaired:" — *me sciente*, "if I know it." — 4. *Flagitiosum*. § 98, Obs. 6: — *cujus curator*, "whose agent." — 5. *Id omitto*, "This (scil., *meos fines tutari*) I now cease to do." By *meos fines*, he again alludes to his claim to a part of the territory of Jugurtha as his. Ch. CII., ad fin.

CXI.—1. *De communibus rebus multis (verbis)*, "Respecting the public affairs, at great length," lit., "with many words." — 2. *Quod polliceatur*, &c. Arrange, *Senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam valuissent amplius armis, non habituros* (§ 98, Obs. 2.) *in gratiam (id) quod polliceatur—non habituros in gratiam*, &c., "Would not consider as a favor that which he (Boechus) promised," scil., in the preceding chapter: — *quod illorum*, &c., "which might appear to respect their interest more than his own." § 113, Exe. I. — 3. *Id adeo in promptu esse*, &c., "That this indeed was an easy thing, since he had Jugurtha in his power:" — *illi*, "to him" (Boechus): — *adventuram*, agreeing with *partem*, the nearest substantive. § 98, Obs. 4. — 4. *Negitare*, "Refused positively,"—an uncommon but very expressive word, after which supply *dicens* implied in it: — *affinitatem*; Jugurtha was his son-in-law, the relationship to which *cognationem* refers, is not known—*intervenisse* refers chiefly to *fœdus*, and to *affinitatem* and *cognationem* only by Zeugma. § 150, 1, 2d: — *ne averteret*. § 140, Obs. 6: — *fluxa fide usus*, "if he used bad faith:" — *lenitur*, "he is softened down." — 5. *Ad simulandam pacem*, &c. Arrange and supply, *Constituunt (ea) quæ visa (sunt) utilia ad simulandam pacem* (scil., *eum Jugurtha*), &c.

CXII.—1. *Sibi per Dabarem*, &c., "That he understood from Sulla by means of Dabar:" — *conditionibus bellum poni*, "that the war could be brought to an end on (certain) conditions," i. e., without making an unconditional surrender. — 2. *Cuncta edoctus*, "Having received full instructions:" — *sed Mario parum confidere*, "but he could not trust Marius:" — *conventam*, "which had been agreed

upon." The passive of this verb is rare: — *frustra* an adverb as the predicate after *fuisse*. § 103, Obs. 1. (3.) — 3. *Si ambobus consultum*, &c., "If he wished the interests of both to be provided for, and a firm peace:" — *in potestatem habuisset* (for *in potestate*, &c.), "when he should have such a man in his power." The accusative thus used after *in* with *habere*, however, expresses the twofold idea of *getting* and *keeping*; thus, *in custodiam habitus*, "put into prison and kept there:" so here, "get into his power and keep in it." See other examples, Andrews' Lexicon, *habeo*, C. — 4. *Neque hominem*, &c. *Neque* = *et non*. Arrange and supply thus, *Et hominem nobilem (qui esset) in potestate hostium, non sua ignavia, sed ob rem publicam, non (from neque) relictum iri (ibi):* scil., *in potestate hostium*.

CXIII.—1. *Secum ipse*, "With himself." § 98, Exc. 5: — *dolo* (i. e., *num dolo*, § 140, 5, Note) *an vere cunctatus (sit)*, "whether he delayed treacherously or sincerely:" — *ipsæ sibi* (= *ipsis sibi*) *adversæ*, "contradictory," lit., "opposed to themselves," i. e., to each other. — 2. *Benigne habere*, "He treated them kindly:" — *secum ipse*, as above: — *vultu corporis*, "in the expression of the bodily features." *Vultus* (from *volo* "I wish") means properly "the expression," scil., of inward émotion, and hence "the countenance," by which emotions are usually expressed. — 3. *Quæ scilicet, tacente*, &c., "Which things (scil., those described in the first part of the sentence), as could be seen, though he himself was silent, revealed the secrets of his breast:" *patefecisse* here depends on *scilicet* = *scire licet*. 4. *Ex ejus sententia*, "In concert with him," lit., "according to his opinion." — 5. *Insidiantibus*, "By those lying in wait:" — *utî dictum erat*, "as had been appointed:" — *ex insidiis*, "(by those) from the ambuscade." The capture of Jugurtha took place B. C. 106, when Marius was no longer consul, but remained in Africa as proconsul during that and the following year, for the purpose of arranging and settling the affairs of that province, which had fallen greatly into disorder. Bocchus received a part of western Numidia as far as the river Ampsaga, and Numidia was divided between Hiempsal and Hiarbas, two princes of the family of Masinissa. Sulla considered the taking of Jugurtha to be an event so important to the state, and so glorious to himself, that he had it engraved as a device on his sealing ring, and thereby occasioned great offence to Marius.

CXIV.—1. *Per idem tempus*, "About the same time," i. e., the year after: — *Adversum Gallos*, more properly *Germanos*. The

reference is to the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, here called Gauls, probably because before this they had been wandering about in Gaul in quest of settlements: — *quo metu*, “by the fear of which.” — 2. *Illique*, &c., “Both those Romans (i. e., the Romans of that day) and from that, down to our own time:” — *sic habuere*, &c., “held this opinion, that all other things were easy (practicable) to their bravery.” — 3. *Consul absens factus (est)*, “Was made consul in his absence.” This was a violation of the law, as no person was allowed to be a candidate unless present at the time; and if he had been consul before, a period of ten years must intervene. In both respects the law was dispensed with in favor of Marius, now elected consul a second time, which showed the high estimation in which he was then held. — 4. *Isque Kalendis Januariis*, &c., “And he as consul triumphed with great glory on the Kalends of January,” i. e., on the first of January, the day on which the consul elect entered on his office. — 5. *Ea tempestate*, “At that time.” These words are emphatic and in contrast with the time that followed, when the ambitious course of Marius caused so much misery to the state, and led to a great change of sentiment respecting him.

The death of Jugurtha corresponded to his wicked and wretched life. Being brought to Rome, he was exposed to the view and to the insults of the Roman people, and dragged in chains to adorn the triumph of Marius. He was afterwards thrust into a loathsome dungeon, where, after lingering in extreme wretchedness for six days, he died of hunger.

TABLE OF REFERENCES

TO

ANDREWS AND STODDARD'S LATIN GRAMMAR.

IN the following Table of References to Andrews & Stoddard's Latin Grammar, each corresponds to the reference to Bullions' Latin Grammar, in the Chapter and note indicated by the numbers prefixed.

CATILINE.			
I,	1.	85, Exc. 1.	VI, 3. § 209 Rem. 11 (4).
	2.	211, Rem. 2.	4. § 323, 1 (2).
	"	53.	5. § 209, Rem. 5.
	4.	265, Rem. 2.	" § 212, Rem. 2.
	5.	243.	Note 4.
II,	1.	207, Rem. 32.	" § 227.
	"	204, Rem. 10.	7. § 223, Rem. 2.
	4.	207, Rem. 32.	8. § 275, Rem. 1 (5).
	"	209, Rem. 7.	" § 259 Rem. 1 (2).
III,	1.	269.	" § 119, iii.
	"	210, Rem. 1, &	VII, 1. § 204, Rem. 11 (4).
	"	205, Rem. 7 (2).	2. § 256, Rem. 3.
	"	223.	3. § 257, Rem. 6.
	"	205, Rem. 6.	4. § 209, Rem. 11.
IV,	6.	213, Rem. 1.	5. § 205, Rem. 8.
	1.	211, Rem. 5.	" § 206, Rem. 19 (9).
	3.	206, Rem. 19 (3).	6. § 265.
V,	2.	211, Rem. 6.	VIII, 1. § 256, Rem. 16.
	3.	213, Rem. 1.	5. § 207, Rem. 35.
	4.	226.	6. § 207, Rem. 28.
	"	212, Rem. 4.	IX, 5. § 256, Rem. 9.
	7.	205, Rem. 2 (3).	7. § 257, Rem. 4.
	"	205, Rem. 2 (3).	X, 3. § 205, Rem. 2.
	8.	235, Rem. 2.	Exc.
	9.	273, 2.	" § 225, iii.
VI,	3.	118, 2.	" § 227.
	"	207 Rem. 32.	4. § 205, Rem. 2 (3).

X,	6.	209, Rem. 5.	XXVII,	5.	207, Rem. 32.
	"	259, Rem. 1 (2).		"	264, 5.
XI,	1.	235, Rem. 5.	XXVIII,	2.	265.
	2.	207, Rem. 23.	XXIX,	1.	274, Rem. 4.
	3.	145, 1.		2.	206, Rem. 19
	4.	257, Rem. 7.			(13).
	5.	209, Rem. 5.		"	262, Rem. 4.
	8.	212, Rem. 3.	XXX,	2.	89, 2.
		Note 1.	XXXI,	4.	275, ii.
XII,	1.	227, Rem. 2.		5.	266, 2.
	2.	209, Rem. 12		"	207, Rem. 26.
		(6).		8.	205, Rem. 15.
	3.	252.		"	266, Rem. 5.
	4.	277, Rem. 5.	XXXII,	1.	211, Rem. 5.
	5.	226.		2.	276, iii.
	6.	229, Rem. 1.		3.	262, Rem. 4.
XIII,	4.	209, Rem. 5.	XXXIII,	1.	206, Rem. 19
XVII,	4.	270, Rem. 1.			(6).
	5.	264, 6.		"	213, Rem. 1
XVIII,	2.	206, Rem. 19.			(3).
		(6).		3.	139.
XIX,	4.	264, 6.		7.	262, Rem. 4.
XX,	2.	225, ii.	XXXIV,	1.	258.
	4.	206, Rem. 19		"	266, Rem. 5.
		(9).	XXXV,	1.	229, Rem. 1.
	8.	53.		4.	207, Rem. 23.
	"	240.	XXXVI,	3.	276, ii.
	9.	205, Rem. 17.	XXXVII,	4.	205, Rem. 15.
	"	119, iii.		6.	207, Rem. 32.
	13.	204.		8.	278, Rem. 9.
	14.	260, Rem. 6.		10.	278, Rem. 9.
XXI,	5.	217.		"	207, Rem. 28.
	"	227.	XXXVIII,	1.	257, Rem. 7.
XXII,	1.	264, 6.		4.	207, Rem. 29.
	2.	209, Rem. 5.		"	204, Rem. 11.
	3.	211, Rem. 2.			(4).
XXIII,	2.	139, Rem. 1.	XXXIX,	3.	257, Rem. 7.
	4.	211, Rem. 5.		4.	260, Rem. 2.
	5.	209, Rem. 4.		7.	145, ii.
XXIV,	2.	139.	XL,	3.	265.
	"	237.		4.	145, i, 3.
	3.	198, 1.		"	207, Rem. 26.
XXV,	2.	234, i.		"	215.
	3.	209, Rem. 7.		5.	213, Rem. 1 (3)
	4.	205, Rem. 15.		7.	226.
	5.	209, Rem. 12		"	237, Rem. 4.
		(3).	XLI,	3.	233 & § 242.
XXVI,	6.	205, Rem. 15.		"	273, i.
XXVII,	1.	207, Rem. 32.	XLII,	1.	209, Rem. 12
	3.	141, i, 3.			(6).

XLIII,	1.	§ 260, Rem. 1 (4).
	2.	§ 204, Rem. 11 (4).
	3.	§ 207, Rem. 32.
	5.	§ 274, Rem. 5.
XLIV,	5.	§ 137, 1 (c).
	"	§ 265.
	6.	§ 262, Rem. 4.
	"	§ 183, 3. Note.
	7.	§ 235, Rem. 5.
XLV,	1.	§ 234, i.
	3.	§ 212, Rem. 3.
	4.	§ 231.
XLVI,	1.	§ 209, Rem. 5.
XLVII,	3.	§ 245, Rem. 1.
	4.	§ 274, Rem. 5.
XLVIII,	3.	§ 274, Rem. 5.
	"	§ 264, 5.
XLIX,	2.	§ 209, Rem. 5.
	6.	§ 266, 3 in fin.
L,	1.	§ 212, Rem. 2. Note 4.
	5.	§ 234, i.
LI,	9.	§ 207, Rem. 6.
	11.	§ 207, Rem. 32.
	"	§ 256, Rem. 16 (2).
	15.	§ 217.
	19.	§ 232 (2) and 209, Rem. 5.
	24.	§ 262, Rem. 9.
	27.	§ 206, Rem. 19 (1).
LII,	4.	§ 212, Rem. 3. Note 1.
	5.	§ 252.
	"	§ 206, Rem. 19 (9).
	"	§ 207, Rem. 25.
	6.	§ 145, ii, 1.
	8.	§ 265.
	9.	§ 210.
	10.	§ 260, Rem. 6.
	"	§ 276, ii.
	14.	§ 256, Rem. 16 (2).
	18.	§ 223.
	"	§ 265.
	20.	§ 211, Rem. 5.
	22.	§ 260, ii., Rem. 1 (1).

LIII.	2.	§ 206, Rem. 19 (3).
	"	§ 229, Rem. 5.
	4.	§ 212.
	"	§ 323, 3 (5).
	5.	§ 262, Rem. 10 (2).
	"	§ 262, Rem. 9.
LIV,	1.	§ 207, Rem. 32.
	3.	§ 145, ii, 1.
	5.	§ 256, Rem. 16 (2).
LV,	2.	§ 206, Rem. 19 (10).
LVI,	4.	§ 206, Rem. 19 (6).
	5.	§ 271, Rem. 3.
	"	§ 205, Rem. 7 (2).
LVIII,	1.	§ 274, Rem. 4.
	7.	§ 211, Rem. 6.
	9.	§ 225, iii.
LIX,	2.	§ 257, Rem. 7.
	6.	§ 89, 2.
LX,	4.	§ 278, Rem. 9.
LXI,	5.	§ 207, Rem. 35.
	"	§ 207, Rem. 32.
	"	§ 264, 6.

JUGURTHA.

I,	1.	§ 260, Rem. 6.
	2.	§ 260, ii.
	5.	§ 204, Rem. 11 (4).
	7.	§ 212, Rem. 4. Note 3.
II,	3.	§ 130, iii.
III,	3.	§ 211, Rem. 8 (3).
	4.	§ 270, Rem. 1.
IV,	3.	§ 264, 6.
	"	§ 206, Rem. 19 (4).
	6.	§ 211, Rem. 5.
	7.	§ 257, Rem. 7.
	"	§ 211, Rem. 6.
	"	§ 262, Rem. 10 (1).
	10.	§ 215.

V,	1.	§ 162, 14.	XVI,	4.	§ 206, Rem. 19
	6.	204, Rem. 8.			(3).
	"	207, Rem. 29.	XVII,	2.	§ 205, Rem. 2 (2),
	"	227.			and
VI,	1.	89, 2.		"	§ 206, Rem. 19
	"	209, Rem. 5.			(3) a.
	"	205, Rem. 15.		6.	265.
	4.	262, Rem. 7.	XXVIII,	2.	205, Rem. 3.
VII,	3.	278, Rem. 9.		7.	235, Rem. 5.
	4.	211, Rem. 5.		"	235, Rem. 2.
	5.	206, Rem. 19		9.	206, Rem. 19
		(4).			(10).
	7	§ 212, Rem. 2,		11.	205, Rem. 17.
		Note 4.	XIX,	1.	207, Rem. 32.
VIII,	1.	256.		"	205, Rem. 2,
	"	268, Rem. 4.			Exe.
	5.	211, Rem. 8		3.	54.
		(3).		5.	313, Rem. 1.
XI,	8.	209, Rem. 5.		"	234, ii.
	9.	256, Rem. 9.	XX,	1.	259, Rem. 1
XII,	2.	207, Rem. 32.			(2).
XIII,	2.	207, Rem. 32,		4.	244.
		in fin.	XXI,	1.	222.
	3.	265, 5.		2.	235, Rem. 5.
	5.	220, 4.		3.	259, Rem. 1
XIV.	1.	273, 2.			(2).
	3.	220, 3.		7.	264, 5.
	"	220, 3.	XXII,	2.	207, Rem. 35.
	4.	207, Rem. 28.		"	268, Rem. 6.
	"	227.		3.	256, Rem. 16
	6.	206, Rem. 19			(2).
		(6).		6.	275, ii.
	7.	§ 259, Rem. 4.	XXIII,	1.	209, Rem. 5.
	8.	206, Rem. 19	XXIV,	7.	252.
		(3) a.		9.	227.
	11.	§ 127.	XXV,	1.	264, 6.
	"	212, Rem. 2,		"	223, Rem. 2.
		Note 4.		4.	209, Rem. 5.
	14.	§ 207, Rem. 32.		"	127.
	"	207, Rem. 32,		"	273, 2.
		in fin.		5.	205, Rem. 15.
	"	§ 206, Rem. 19	XXVI,	1.	145, ii., 1.
		(6) a.		"	257, Rem. 1.
	16.	§ 215.	XXVII,	"	145, ii., 2.
	17.	211, Rem. 5.	XXVIII,	1.	273, 2.
	"	225, iii.		"	262, Rem. 47
	18.	262, Rem. 7.		4.	254, Rem. 3.
	"	239.	XXIX,	5.	205, Rem. 15.
	23.	211, Rem. 5.	XXXI,	1.	226.
XV,	3.	209, Rem. 5.		2.	236.
XVI,	3.	90, Exc.		"	227.

XXXI,	4.	243.	LII,	4.	205, Rem. 2 (2).
	5.	239.		5.	239.
	8.	227.		"	265.
	9.	223.		6.	262, Rem. 7.
	11.	269.	LIII,	2.	257, Rem. 1.
	13.	323, 3 (5).		6.	209, Rem. 5.
	18.	206, Rem. 19		7.	204, Rem. 11
		(16).			(4).
	20.	210, Rem. 6.	LIV,	1.	236.
	21.	276, Rem. 2.		"	262, Rem. 4.
XXXII,	1.	274, Rem. 5.		4.	227, Rem. 4.
	"	217.		5.	145, i., 3.
	2.	206, Rem. 19	LV,	3.	205, Rem. 15.
		(4).		"	256, Rem. 16
	3.	264, 6.			(2).
	5.	252.		4.	127.
XXXIII,	2.	264, 5.		"	205, Rem. 16
	4.	254, Rem. 3.			(2).
	6.	227.	LVI,	4.	276, ii.
XXXIV,	1.	145, ii., 1.		"	206, Rem. 19
XXXV,	1.	257, Rem. 1.			(3).
	2.	273 (2), and	LVIII,	2.	256, Rem. 3.
	"	262, Rem. 4.	LIX,	3.	260, Rem. 2.
	9.	262, Rem. 7.	LX,	6.	118, 2.
XXXVI,	2.	239.	LXI,	3.	268, Rem. 4.
XXXVIII,	5.	210, Rem. 1.		"	211, Rem. 6.
	9.	262, Rem. 9.		"	262, Rem. 7.
	10.	266, 2.	LXII,	1.	233.
XXXIX,	2.	209, Rem. 5.		2.	264, 5.
	3.	145, i., 3.		4.	223, Rem. 2
	4.	262, Rem. 9.			(1), fin.
	5.	274, Rem. 5.		5.	205, Rem. 3.
	"	209, Rem. 12,		6.	237.
		passim.		"	275, Rem. 1.
XL,	2.	229, Rem. 1.	LXIII,	1.	223.
XLI,	2.	274, Rem. 5.		"	224.
XLIII,	1.	222, Rem. 2.		"	244.
	3.	227.		"	266, Rem. 5.
	4.	209, Rem. 12		2.	221, Rem. 3.
		(2).		5.	207, Rem. 26.
XLIV,	3.	206, Rem. 19		"	244.
		(16).		6.	212, Rem. 3.
XLVI,	2.	264, 5.		8.	211, Rem. 6.
	6.	211, Rem. 5.	LXV,	2.	211, Rem. 8
XLIX,	1.	235, Rem. 5.			(3).
	4.	263, 5.		5.	145, ii., 2.
L,	1.	262, Rem. 7.	LXVI,	3.	211, Rem. 6.
	"	264, 5.		"	222, Rem. 1.
	3.	118, 6.		4.	145, ii., 1.
LI,	4.	226.		5.	207, Rem. 3.
LII,	1.	226.	LXVI,	7.	205, Rem. 3.

LXVII,	3.	257, Rem. 7.	LXXXV,	13.	207, Rem. 35.
"		256.		14.	127.
LXVIII,	2.	118, 6.	"		260, ii., Rem. 6.
LXXI,	3.	243.	19.		206, Rem. 19
LXXII,	1.	278, Rem. 9.			(12).
	2.	205, Rem. 2	"		215.
		Exc.	23.		234.
LXXIII,	4.	227.	"		207, Rem. 22.
LXXIV,	4.	206, Rem. 19.	27.		260, ii., Rem. 6.
	"	224.	28.		276, ii.
	5.	245, & Rem. 1.	"		227.
LXXV,	1.	209, Rem. 12,	33.		259, Rem. 4.
		passim.	LXXXVI,	3.	227.
	2.	225, ii.	LXXXVII,	1.	207, Rem. 32.
	3.	251.	LXXXVIII,	4.	275, Rem. 1 (5).
	4.	212, Rem. 3.	"		250.
	5.	205, Rem. 3.		6.	205, Rem. 15.
	6.	206, Rem. 19	XCI,	4.	118, 6.
		(10).	XCII,	4.	234, ii.
	7.	212, Rem. 3.		6.	226.
LXXVI,	4.	253, Rem. 1.	XCIII,	1.	205, Rem. 15.
	6.	323, 1, (2).		3.	276, ii.
LXXVII,	1.	274, Rem. 5.		5.	212, Rem. 3, &
LXXIX,	1.	217.			Note 1.
"	"	231.		7.	262, Rem. 4.
	2.	223, Rem. 2.		10.	265, 5.
	3.	235, Rem. 2.	XCIV,	3.	89, 3.
	5.	204, Rem. 8.	XCV,	1.	206, Rem. 19
	8.	256, Rem. 16			(12).
		(2).	"		217.
"		274, Rem. 5.		3.	211, Rem. 6.
	9.	206, Rem. 19		4.	250.
		(12).		5.	265, Rem. 2.
"		206, Rem. 19	XCVI,	2.	207, Rem. 28.
		(3).	"		205, Rem. 15.
LXXX,	6.	119, iii.		3.	207, Rem. 22.
"	"	256, Rem. 16.	XCVII,	3.	90, Exc
LXXXI,	1.	211, Rem. 6.	"		107, Rem. 2.
	5.	257, Rem. 1.	"		227.
	6.	205, Rem. 15.	XCVIII,	1.	211, Rem. 6.
LXXXIII,	1.	211, Rem. 8		3.	235, Rem. 2.
		(3).	C,	2.	232, (2).
LXXXIV,	2.	243, Rem. 2.		5.	278, Rem. 9.
	3.	211, Rem. 6.		7.	227, Rem. 2.
	4.	205, Rem. 15.	CI,	1.	205, Rem. 15.
	5.	226.	"		207, Rem. 32.
	6.	205, Rem. 3.		3.	209, Rem. 2 (2)
LXXXV,	2.	205, Rem. 2		8.	227, Rem. 1.
		(2).	"		323, 1, (1).
"		265, Rem. 2.	CII,	1.	212, Rem. 4.
"		252.			Note 4.

CII.	2.	265.	CVIII.	2.	276, ii.
	4.	218, Rem. 2.	CIX,	2.	276, ii.
	"	273, 2.		"	265, Rem. 2.
	8.	212, Rem. 3.	CX,	1.	268, Rem. 4.
CIII,	1.	276, ii.		2.	260, Rem. 3.
	6.	227, & Rem. 2.		3.	260, Rem. 3.
CIV,	2.	205, Rem. 2 (2).		4.	210, Rem. 1.
CV,	1.	184, 2.	CXI,	2.	205, Rem. 2 (1).
	4.	256, Rem. 6.		"	219.
	"	323, 1 (2).		3.	205, Rem. 2.
CVI,	1.	227, Rem. 2.			Exc.
	3.	266, Rem. 5.		4.	323, 1 (2).
	5.	264, 6.		"	262, Rem. 7.
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Professors OLIMSTED and SILLIMAN; REV. T. H. GALLAUDET; J. L. COMSTOCK, M. D., and many eminent scientific men recommend them highly.

Olney's Geography and Atlas as a work for schools is probably known to teachers generally. It is not known to all, however, that it is now almost a new book. Still possessing the same plan which has always been so popular, it contains, in addition, Ancient Geography and Physical Geography. The Atlas is very large and full. Notwithstanding that other works continue to adopt successive improvements that appear in this, so far as they think they can with safety, it is still the best adapted for schools.

The same author has prepared a set of Outline Maps to precede the Geography and Atlas, which are admirable for young pupils. Also, a Quarto Geography, which is beautifully embellished, and well arranged for those who prefer that form.

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Sallust
History of the conspiracy of Catiline, Ed. 5.
and Jugurthine war; ed. by Bullions.

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